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The Shape of Things

THE SEVERAL FACTORS THAT HAVE MADE IT possible for Senator McKellar to inflict his senile abuse on David Lilienthal for a month have at last worn thin. One is the patience of the Congressional Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, which has indulged McKellar as a guest inquisitor. Last week chairman Hickenlooper (R., Ia.) chided him for being "completely and utterly inaccurate"; McMahon (D., Conn.) charitably characterized the testimony of McKellar's witnesses as "a lot of rag-tail talk" and Hill (D., Ala.) as "innuendo and gossip." Vandenberg (R., Mich.) rebuked the Tennesseean sarcastically, and Knowland (R., Cal.) said flatly: "I have not seen or heard any evidence presented thus far that ties Mr. Lilienthal to communism." Equally worn down, we hopefully believe, is the Republican conviction that Lilienthal can be defeated in the Senate as a whole, with consequent embarrassment to the Administration. It is improbable that President Truman would have voiced his confidence in Lilienthal's confirmation without a pretty convincing poll by his Senate leaders. This prospect, plus Vandenberg's position, gives Senator Taft's reckless onslaught on Lilienthal the appearance of an historic political boner. A senseless defeat on the first major test of his leadership should qualify him to join Mr. Bricker in the league of Ohioans who never will be President.

*

WE ARE BY NO MEANS ASSUMING, HOWEVER, that the fight on Lilienthal is over. It will really begin in earnest if and when he is confirmed. Under the law that created the Atomic Energy Commission that body is the sole judge of whether or not patent rights are to be granted to private interests for exploiting any given method of producing atomic energy, the criterion being the commission's opinion as to whether or not the proposed development is "affected with the public interest." It is Lilienthal's long and magnificent record as a guardian of the public interest that has won him the delicate attentions he has received in recent weeks, and not his fantastically alleged communism, his inclination to share the secrets of nuclear physics with Mr. Stalin, or the Czechoslovak origins of his aged parents. The forces that lurk behind this curtain of slander are getting set for a long struggle. A representative in the Tennessee legislature, unaffected by the braying of his distinguished Senator, put the question squarely. "We hear that atomic energy may one day provide us with heat and light," he said. "I ask is this an attempt on the part of big business to grab off the latest natural resource that has become available to man?" Of course it is. And it will be for Lilienthal and his commission to insist that science did not split the atom so that business might split the profits.

*

HERMAN TALMADGE, GEORGIA'S PRETENDER, plows ahead in his efforts to set back democracy's clock in the face of rising popular protest. His signature to the White Primary bill converts the Democratic Party of the state into a private club. The constitutionality of such action and all "Humman's" other actions in his role of governor will be tested when the decisions of three Superior Courts come up for review before Georgia's Supreme Court late this month. Some twenty members of the House and three members of the Senate, making their own estimate of the way the wind is blowing, have left the opposition and jumped on to the Talmadge bandwagon. The most important single defection is that of Ben Fortson, Secretary of State, who in happier days managed Ellis Arnall's campaign. But though the fair-weather boys have jumped quickly, the majority of Georgia's aroused citizens have hardened their determination to win back their rights and the reputation of their state. The Reverend Joseph A. Rabun, marine veteran and minister of Talmadge's own church, continues his outspoken condemnation of Talmadge; letters pour into the newspapers; editorials in journals large and small point out that the issue is a moral one transcending in its importance the eventual decision of the Supreme Court. The students on Georgia's campuses remain in ferment. In a recent poll of 300 students from 99 Georgia counties taken at the University of Georgia, 67 per cent expressed themselves in favor of M. E. Thompson and only 28 per cent for Herman Talmadge; 66 per cent said they would join a new party, if necessary, for the purpose of defeating Talmadge. In a one-party state this last is significant, particularly since eighteen-year-olds can vote in Georgia. So the fight goes on. As Lillian Smith wrote in last week's *Nation*, "We've whispered so long in Georgia, it's wonderful to be able to shout aloud for democracy."

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PROMINENT ON THE CREDIT SIDE OF THE Georgia ledger is the judicial treatment meted out to Homer L. Loomis, Jr., and Emory P. Burke, guiding geniuses of the Nazi-inspired Columbians. Both statesmen, going to the people of Georgia for the first time, were elected to the rock-pile, Loomis for one year and Burke for three. The juries that tried the two Columbians, on charges of incitement to riot and usurpation of police powers respectively, were quick to bring in their verdicts, and both demonstrated a fine scorn for the racial harangues with which the defendants thought it advisable to favor the court. Loomis was defended—if it can be called a defense—by his Park Avenue father, a rabble-rouser in his own right, who assumed that a Georgian jury would free anyone who might be painted as a victim of Southern Negroes and New York Jews. Besides landing his ne'er-do-well son in jail, Loomis *pere* now faces the lively possibility of disbarment proceedings for a particularly offensive performance. Both convicts are due to face further charges, and the handling of their cases so far inspires complete confidence in the desire of Georgians to smash this obnoxious little gang.

*

BY COMMITTING THE UNITED NATIONS TO action against Franco, the Lake Success resolution on Spain was something of an ultimatum to those states which have encouraged a perilous deal between capitulationist Republicans and the Spanish monarchists and other reactionary groups. It was so understood by Señor Prieto, who provoked the recent Cabinet crisis and thus brought into being the Llopis Cabinet, in which a majority are of his persuasion. The Spanish dictator has also appointed a Falangist committee to report on the possibilities of a restoration of the monarchy. British reaction to Señor Prieto's success has been prompt. On February 19 Mr. Bevin declared in the House of Commons that he had already made contact with the new regime. It would seem that eventual recognition has also been discussed, for when asked what his future relations with the Spanish government in exile were to be, the Foreign Minister replied that he "must wait to see if it has stability." What is meant by stability? If Mr. Bevin is merely suggesting that Señor Llopis must boldly follow the Prieto plan of action, he will discover that the new Cabinet is farther from stability than any of its predecessors. The Spanish Communists, whose entry into the new regime has alarmed many groups which were not originally hostile to them, have evidently realized the fact. In a speech designed to explain the party's turnabout, La Pasionaria has urgently invited the abstaining parties to reconsider their decision. "It is," she declares, "utterly false to assert that we can facilitate the liberation of our people by renouncing the Republic in order to get the approval of the Communists." What

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effect this appeal will have cannot be foreseen. Though the Communist leader explicitly demands the restoration of Republican legality as it existed in 1936, there is nothing in the reports of her speech resolutely closing the door against a plebiscite, which surely must involve the most dangerous of compromises with reactionary classes in Spain. The crisis therefore remains.

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OLD THROW-BACK JOHN RANKIN HAS DONE his best to silence 92,500 American veterans who have something to say to the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs. Among all the groups John hates, the American Veterans' Committee ranks high because its articulate members think in enlightened terms and because they protected witnesses in the Mississippi hearings against his stable mate, Theodore G. Bilbo. Last week Rankin, with the aid and advice of legionnaires and V. F. W. sharpshooters, introduced a resolution to the committee which would bar testimony before it from all but "accredited" veterans' organizations. John looked pretty foolish when it turned out the A. V. C. *was* accredited by the Veterans' Administration; then he went into a huddle with Representative Alvin O'Konski of Wisconsin, who emerged with a second resolution, passed by the committee, which limits testimony "to those organizations which have exclusively active, participating veterans of American wars." The A. V. C. frankly, and proudly, claims 400 veteran merchant seamen among its membership; this technicality will now be used to prohibit the A. V. C. from testifying on bills concerning veterans' welfare now before the committee, some of which were drawn up in the offices of the A. V. C. itself. Rankin has had his revenge, and the pork-barrel banner will fly above the committee chambers while housing and other measures vital to veterans are deliberately sidestepped. There is, however, a means of counter-attack for those who believe "that the well-being of the veteran is of some concern . . . and who see in his sound reintegration into the fabric of our society the surest guaranty of our liberties." The A. V. C. has just started a drive for $100,000 needed to publicize legislative requirements for that reintegration and to combat those who, like the real estate interests, chiefly stand in their way. Contributions may be sent to Charles G. Bolté, chairman of the A. V. C., 1860 Broadway, New York City.

✶

EVERY ONCE IN A WHILE, WHEN WE WATCH the behavior of men like Generals Eisenhower and Marshall, we wonder whether we haven't become too set in our ancient bias against the military mind. But the military mind doesn't leave us wondering for long. What currently refreshes our prejudice is the proposed promotion of James A. Killian to the permanent rank of colonel. Killian is the gentleman—all officers are gentlemen—who commanded the camp for American army prisoners at Lichfield, where the policy laid down for guards was, "Work him over—just don't break too many bones." Responsible for innumerable beatings, clubbings, and at least one unwarranted shooting, Killian was convicted of brutality by an army court-martial last September, despite his arrogant intimidation of witnesses. He was sentenced to the cruel and unusual punishment of a $500 fine and an official reprimand; and now, having been duly punished, he is to be promoted. The War Department is a bit apologetic and has been at pains to explain to the press that it has no alternative: promotion by seniority is automatic under the law, unless Congress withholds approval. Secretary of War Patterson is reported to have asked Congress to change the law, and his public-relations officer appears to be asking the public to sympathize with the army in its embarrassment. We might, if we knew why a change in the "senility system" was not demanded long ago. The navy, with Congressional sanction, has been promoting by selection for several years now. Moreover, if the army had really wanted to get around this fatuous regulation, it could have "broken" Killian to a second lieutenant at the time of his conviction. Better still, it could have discharged him dishonorably as though he were an enlisted man.

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THE RAILROADS ARE FAR FROM SATISFIED with the billion-dollar increase in freight rates which they secured from the Interstate Commerce Commission at the end of 1946. On February 19 their chief spokesman, R. V. Fletcher, president of the American Railroad Association, said that the carriers "must seek a return commensurate with the earnings of other industries." Not less than 6 per cent on their investment, double the current return, was necessary, he suggested, for the maintenance of "adequate rail transportation." This was not a casual statement but a formal declaration of policy. Yet it is difficult to believe that its author, or those whom he represents, have thoroughly considered its implications. For how could railroad net revenues be doubled at the present time? Certainly not by doubling freight rates and passenger fares, for that would drive away so much traffic that quite possibly it would lead to a reduction in operating income. It must be equally obvious that the desired increase in profit cannot be secured from the pockets of railroad workers unless a terrific depression forces down wages generally. But since such a catastrophe would inevitably mean a drastic shrinkage in traffic, the railroads would find themselves still farther from their goal. Thus the only conclusion that we can draw from Mr. Fletcher's remarks is that, if a 6 per cent return is the minimum price for which private enterprise will consent to operate the railroads, it is high time for us to follow the British example and seek a solution for transportation problems in public ownership.

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Passage from India

IT HAS not been easy for Indians to grasp the fact that their independence is really won. Many of them have always been convinced—not without reason while the Tories ruled in Whitehall—that Britain would never voluntarily relinquish "the brightest jewel in its crown," and that occupation would end only when the occupiers were forcibly evicted. Even the unequivocal statements of the British Labor government, both before and after the Cabinet mission's visit to India last year, failed to dissipate such doubts entirely. In fact, the subsequent outbreak of bloody communal rioting, the backing away by the Moslem League from its acceptance of the mission's plan, and the subsequent constitutional deadlock induced fears that the old policy of divide and rule was being revived and that the British were encouraging Moslem intransigence with a view to postponing their departure indefinitely.

Mr. Attlee's announcement that the transference of power into responsible Indian hands will take place not later than June, 1948, clears the air of such suspicions. The Indian parties now know that they cannot afford to waste time in bickering. Within the next sixteen months they must write their constitution and ready themselves to take over the government of India as a going concern. The penalty for failure will not be the prolongation of British rule; it will be administrative chaos and imminent danger of civil war.

Mr. Attlee's statement also gave fair warning to both the All-India Congress and the Moslem League that Britain did not intend to impose a solution of the constitutional problem on which they are so sharply divided. Neither party, it is clear, can count on British aid in coercing the other. As Pandit Nehru, vice-president of the interim government and leader of Congress, said in commenting on the "wise and courageous" decision of the British government, "it is a challenge to all of us." Making a new plea to the Moslem League to end its boycott of the Constituent Assembly, he emphasized that the task of constitution making could proceed only "on a voluntary basis." "There can be no compulsion," he declared, "except the compulsion of events that none can ignore."

Unfortunately, early reactions from the Moslems have been less conciliatory. Jinnah, head of the League, has not commented directly on Attlee's statement but he has reiterated his determination not to yield "an inch" on the demand for Pakistan—a completely independent Moslem state within India. Still more ominous is the prediction of civil war between Hindus and Moslems soon after the British depart, attributed to "an important Moslem leader." Such uncompromising attitudes may seem to justify the fear of the London *Times* that the announcement of a deadline might serve to inflame communal strife rather than bring pressure to bear on the Indian parties to end it.

But the British government's decision does not, in fact, create any new peril; it simply brings an already existing peril into sharp focus and forces India to face it. Both the Congress and the League are aware that the alternative to mutual accommodation is a civil war which would be disastrous to both sides. The dreadful example of China must be vividly before them.

At this stage, when the Constituent Assembly is stymied by the abstention of its Moslem minority and the interim government stultified by complete lack of cooperation between its Congress and League members, some new initiative was essential. Yet the steps open to the British government were very limited. There could be no going back on the pledge of independence and no suggestion of revising the constitutional plan in a way that favored one side against the other. Britain, in short, could not consider cancelling its passage from India; it could only confirm its intention to depart by setting an early sailing date.

Palestine Our Problem

BRITAIN has referred the problem of Palestine to the United Nations. One is tempted to say that in taking this action Mr. Bevin has closed an epoch, but that is not so, for the Zionist movement will continue to fight for ideals that have been betrayed by British procrastination and insincerity. Moreover, the Jewish people still have to reckon with Britain, whose disinterestedness cannot be taken for granted.

Though Mr. Bevin has announced that he will make no proposals to the General Assembly, the mandatory power will strongly influence decisions. The British Empire is in process of dissolution, but the oil-bearing regions of the Near East are of such economic and strategic importance that the Foreign Office may still pursue the policy that has rendered Britain bankrupt in Palestine. The Arab states will continue to oppose Jewish aspirations, and as long as Mr. Bevin controls London's policy it is not improbable that their demands will find favor with those countries that have followed the British lead in other matters. Britain has declared that it will entirely withdraw from Palestine if the United Nations so order—as if it could do otherwise!—but it would be sheer naivete to equate this with a firm promise to abandon all previous strategic ideas. The costs of the present military occupation are heavy and Britain is facing the severest economic crisis in its history, but that is not to say that London will not seek to bend the United Nations to the service of British interests. And finally, though the military authorities in Palestine are showing unexpected caution, between now and September events born of past blunders and unconfessed intentions may yet prejudice the reaching of a decision creating a viable Jewish state.

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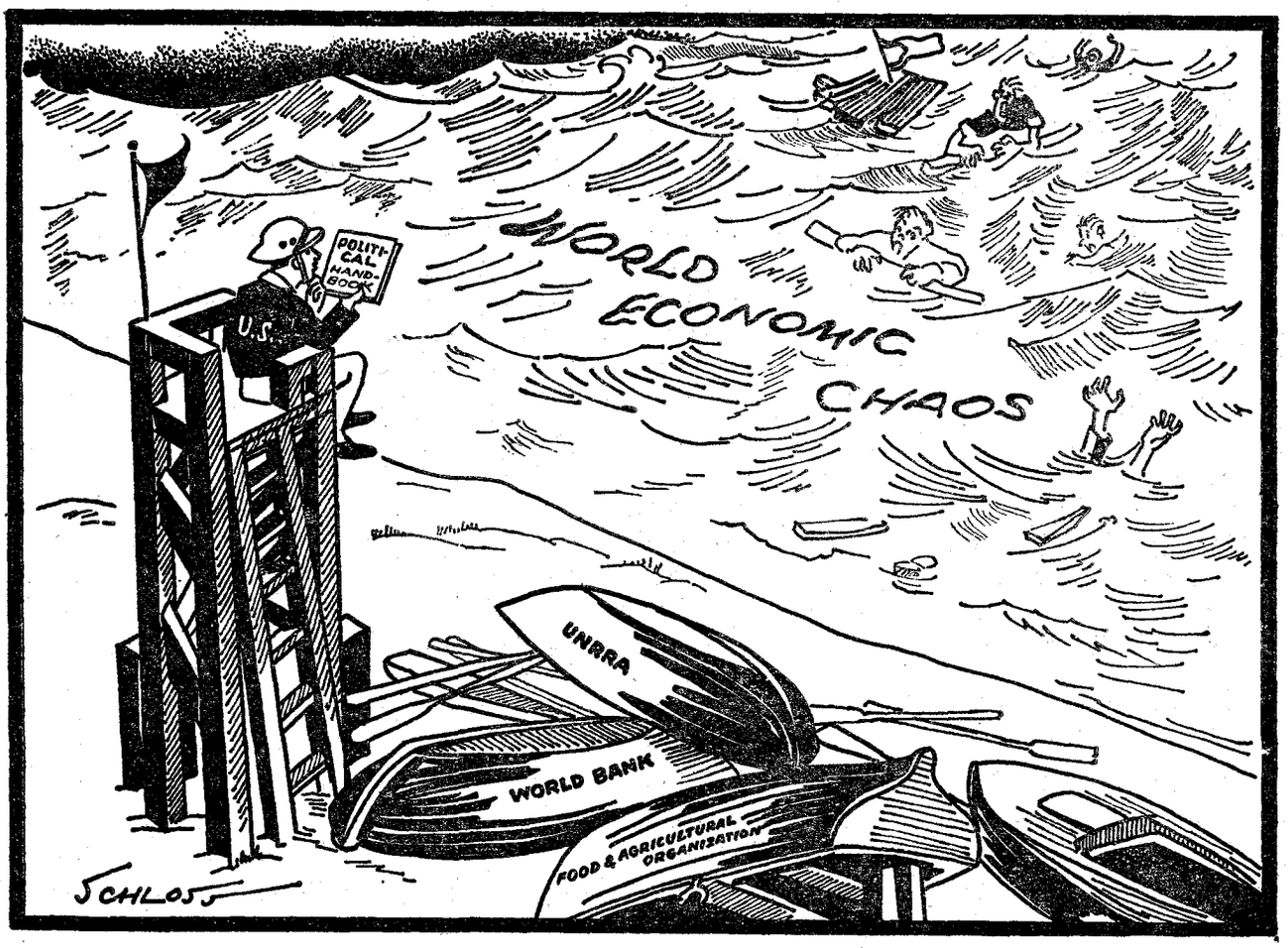
Only firm representations by the United States could have induced London to impose a just solution in Palestine. It implies no disrespect for other powers to say that the creation of an autonomous Jewish state still depends in large measure upon this country's readiness to urge that course and to take responsibility upon itself. Because of its great economic interest in the Near East the United States has a reason to keep Arab good-will. But it is unlikely that even the fire-eating professionals of the Arab League, which has no real authority over its members, will be able to get the Arab rulers to oppose a collective decision with violence. And this country, alone or through the United Nations, can confer upon rulers and people benefits that will far outweigh any injury to their feelings caused by the partition of Palestine.

The policy which this country should follow within the United Nations was indicated as long ago as October 4, when President Truman frankly declared that the Morrison-Grady plan was inacceptable. That warning should be repeated, and vigorously. So, too, should the request that Britain at once admit 100,000 Jews to Palestine. Speaking of the reception given to the Jewish Agency's proposals concerning the viable Jewish state, the President said, "From the discussion which has ensued it is my belief that a solution along these lines would command the support of public opinion in the United States." We believe that Mr. Truman was right then, and his words remain true in the new situation. They should be the basis of United States policy in the United Nations. In 1944 both political parties went on record as favoring the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. Since then, moreover, Republican and Democratic leaders have given support to Zionist demands. It should therefore not be difficult to frame a policy acceptable to both parties.

The present danger is that Palestine will be buffeted from side to side in the hurly-burly of great-power conflicts. What Russia's policy will be is not clear from the record. But if the Palestinian problem is divorced from power politics there is no reason to believe that Moscow will oppose the creation of the viable state. One thing is certain, the Jewish population in the Holy Land has absolutely no desire to align itself against the U. S. S. R. Nor have the Arab peoples. This country, if it follows the policy suggested by the President's October 4 statement, will be in a position to put an end to the heartbreaking injustices that have been inflicted upon the Jews.

With this issue *The Nation* presents the first of a series of political cartoons drawn by Ezekiel Schloss, whose work has previously appeared in *France-Amérique*, the New York *Times*, the *Herald Tribune*, the *New Republic*, and other publications. Mr. Schloss's cartoon will be a regular feature in *The Nation*.



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Labor's House Divided

BY WILBUR H. BALDINGER

Washington, February 23

THE immaturity of the American labor movement —or movements, rather—is becoming a painful embarrassment to its friends and a source of profound gratification to its enemies on Capitol Hill. The brawling between A. F. of L. and C. I. O. shows no sign of a letup despite the incidental—and insincere—let's-make-up chatter which is interspersed among the jeers and taunts. The double house is shaken by dissension and sags with indecision. The Sunday-best front displayed on the porch by William Green and Philip Murray fools nobody, not the distressed neighbors who want to be helpful, and certainly not the authorities on the Hill, who are ready to issue warrants for disturbance of the peace.

Labor demonstrations to the public here in the past week are characteristic cases in point.

C. I. O. President Murray, keeping his left hand behind his back, clasped the right hand of phony fellowship which A. F. of L. President Green extended from Miami, where Green's executive council, making a bad joke, called for "organic unity." The A. F. of L. gesture was in cynical response to an equally disingenuous C. I. O. proposal of last December for "unity of action" against new labor legislation. It would have been more honest if Murray and his faithful C. I. O. vice-presidents had told Green and his council what they all knew: that this generation will see no merger between the C. I. O. and A. F. of L., and that it is childish to play games in public about the idea.

After this display of labor family warmth, which was as hollow as the headlines that hailed it, Green and Murray went their separate ways to the Hill to do battle for unions against a predatory Congress. They succeeded only in inflaming the tempers of the statesmen on the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee who will write the verdict on labor. They would have served labor's cause better if they had gone up to the Hill, together or singly, with a legislative plan or two in hand —a plan for jurisdictional peace, for instance. Instead, they made impassioned pleas of not guilty to all the counts in the Senate committee's indictment, although the evidence seemed to call for no-defense pleas in some cases.

"God Almighty," Murray said prayerfully in his resonant voice with its Scotch burr, "what crimes have these organizations I represent committed except to perform a patriotic duty as Americans?" "We have appealed to our rivals to come home to the house of labor," Green intoned piously, excusing himself from any responsibility for jurisdictional strife. "I see no way to correct the situation so long as the rivals fight." Murray had a somewhat better answer on that critical point than Green, but it was not good enough. The C. I. O. spokesman suggested, knowing that the Senate committee had not been constituted as a referee in such inter-union matters, that it "get Willie Green down here" to talk over the jurisdictional situation under committee auspices. This gracious proposal could hardly be expected to get anywhere, and is as good an illustration as any of labor's ineptness in the face of a common threat to the existence of unions in this country.

Senator Joseph H. Ball, the brooding Republican from Minnesota who had hoped to rise in the Eightieth Congress as the savior of free enterprise and conqueror of trade unions, probably has lost his crusade to ban union shops, stop industry-wide bargaining, and slice up the Wagner act. If he has lost, no thanks in particular are due to labor lobbyists; even Senator Robert A. Taft, the Republican boss, developed early doubts that Ball's blockbusters were feasible. At the same time restrictive labor laws are certainly in the offing, and the weak spot in labor's battered armor is the jurisdictional point.

The A. F. of L., which has been unable to settle jurisdictional strikes within its own organization, is far from any serious discussion of unity with the C. I. O., with which it is in jurisdictional conflict on almost every industrial level. What the labor organizations cannot do for themselves, Congress is going to do by outlawing such strikes by legislative fiat. And in doing that, Congress probably is going to do much more—weaken the Wagner act, regulate strike votes, limit secondary boycotts, police such national emergencies as coal strikes.

Hollywood studios are closed by strife between A. F. of L. stage hands and other A. F. of L. craft unions. A. F. of L. electricians refuse to handle products from shops under legitimate C. I. O. contract. Coos Bay, Oregon, has been virtually closed down for five months because C. I. O. longshoremen refuse to handle goods from ships manned by A. F. of L. crews. These are open and valid invitations to Congress to rise in wrath, and since last November, at least, the Republicans have needed no invitation.

Green made some sound arguments against much of what the Senate committee may do to labor. Murray arrived with a forty-one-page text, a sixteen-page sum-

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mary, and a stack of briefs on wages, prices, profits, and laws. C. I. O. Vice-President Walter P. Reuther, the brain trust of the United Automobile Workers, lectured the committee on economics while hewing to the C. I. O. line that any new labor law was bad. Their reasons were worth studying by Congress if it wants to understand the causes of industrial unrest, but under the circumstances nobody on the Senate committee regarded the statements as required reading. Senator James E. Murray of Montana, one of the few unreconstructed New Dealers on the committee, listened to the labor leaders in morose silence. Senator Wayne Morse, Oregon Republican who knows the labor pitch, was irritable.

"Let me in on a secret," Morse finally said sadly to Reuther. "Do you really believe the Eightieth Congress is going to adjourn without passing labor legislation?"

Philip Murray and William Green know what is on the lawmakers' books. They should know that a dose of self-regulation might prevent an epidemic of anti-labor laws. But the time is very late.

Why Does Russia Act That Way?

BY HAROLD J. LASKI

London, February 11

OF THE many impediments to reconstruction few are more damaging than the grave misinterpretations, sometimes honest and sometimes dishonest, of Russian international policy. We hear of Russian "obstruction," of Russian "permeation," of Russian "strategic imperialism," and of perhaps half a dozen kindred evils. Nearly all of them are wholly mythological; the grain of truth in some of them is usually explicable in historical terms, and if these were understood, an agreement could be reached at least as easily with Russia as with any other great power.

It is essential to remember that Russia entered this war as a poor nation which had endured immense sufferings for almost a generation in order to modernize its economic equipment. It must also be remembered that the destruction wrought by the war in Russia probably wiped out at least the major part of the achievements of the years between 1917 and 1941. It is reasonable, therefore, to conclude, first, that Russia does not want a new war, and, second, that any major war would place a strain upon its economy which it is not in a position to bear. These two conclusions must be set in the perspective of the fact that for nearly twenty-five years the other powers, great and small, intervened in Russia to aid and abet civil war there; that they refused it diplomatic recognition; that they gave it little or no economic assistance in its difficulties; that they did not hesitate to "appease" its enemies; that one of the major causes of war in 1939 was the refusal of the semi-fascist "Colonels' regime" in Poland to agree to any Anglo-Russian accord which would have permitted a serious attempt to defend Poland against Hitler; and that since the war capitalists in both Europe and America seem to regard Russian security as a threat to their own interests and to be hardly less anxious to see the failure of the Soviet experiment in 1947 than they were in 1937 and before.

After the immense sacrifices required of Russia, one can hardly be surprised that it makes international security its first objective. In the absence of security, it is compelled to devote a disproportionate amount of its resources to defense; hence it cannot fulfil either the capital-goods or the consumer-goods program which are both necessary to expedite long-term recovery and to make life easier for the people in the meantime. International security for Russia means (1) safeguards against sudden and aggressive attack, so fatal in an age of atomic warfare; (2) the conviction that it can count on the goodwill of neighboring states in the event of war; (3) the impregnability of its frontiers against the kind of invasion Germany was able to mount in 1941; (4) sea-power conditions that do not cut off either its warships or its mercantile marine from access to warm-water ports; and (5) assurance that no treaty arrangements, either in the sphere of defense or of economic life, are made against Russia by other powers.

In the light of Russian history since 1917 I do not think that any one of these is an unreasonable demand. Each of them is entitled to the same consideration as if

HAROLD J. LASKI is well known as one of the leaders of the British Labor Party and the author of many stimulating books on political and economic subjects.

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it were put forward by Great Britain or the United States. I do not believe they have received such consideration. American demands for bases in the Pacific and in Greenland are taken as a matter of course; Russian demands for a base in Spitzbergen and for free access to the Mediterranean are regarded with profound suspicion. America's penetration of the Middle East, in its quest for oil, raises no alarm; the parallel Russian interest in Middle Eastern oil is looked upon as a threat to the independence of all the peoples of the region. Russia's patronage of Marshal Tito's regime in Yugoslavia is viewed with indignation; so also is its special relationship with Czechoslovakia—this has cost the Czechs a proposed loan from the United States. Yet no one has asked that Great Britain's support for the fascist dictatorship of Salazar in Portugal, which is a major source of its strength, or the complete domination of occupied Japan by the United States, despite the expressed disagreement of Russia and Australia to many of its policies, be examined in terms of the need, all over the world, to dig up the roots of fascism.

That there is one standard by which to measure Russian conduct and another to measure that of the other great powers seems to me to be obvious. I do not for one moment assert that the behavior of Russia is beyond criticism. The retention of its troops in Persia beyond the agreed date of withdrawal was indefensible. The volume of its unilateral activities in Germany and Austria is indefensible also. It is a grave misfortune that Communist parties all over the world, even after the dissolution of the Third International, continue to pursue "wrecking" tactics and make that natural alliance of left working-class parties which the post-war situation so clearly calls for unacceptable to millions of Socialists. I think the hair-splitting obstructionism of Mr. Molotov and Mr. Gromyko does little but harm. I believe that many of the most eminent Russian leaders are badly informed about conditions outside their own country because they turn their embassies and legations into what are almost fortresses from which there is little egress and into which any friendly penetration is rare; it was not so in the days of Mr. Litvinov in Washington or of Mr. Maisky in London. Much of the propaganda from Moscow is calculated to cause irritation. It is a great pity that Russia did not join UNESCO at the outset; and that, despite Stalin's recent declaration to Elliott Roosevelt, such immense difficulties are placed by the Russian Foreign Office in the way of exchange of students, professors, and intellectuals generally. While a great deal of the talk about the "iron curtain" in Russia is both mischievous and ignorant, the heavy censorship of news into and out of Russia has extremely unfortunate effects. And it should not be regarded as dangerous for, say, an Englishman who looks upon Mr. Maisky, for example, as an old and valued friend to visit him without permission while in Russia, or to communicate with him as freely when outside Russia as if Mr. Maisky lived in Copenhagen or Zurich.

Let us grant that Russian diplomacy has always been suspicious and tortuous, and that Bolshevik methods, therefore, represent no important change. Let us grant also that, to a considerable degree because of the lack of external security, Russia remains the police state it has always been. No one acquainted with the temper of the common people in every country which participated in the recent war can seriously doubt that Russia would be amply repaid at this grave juncture by attempting experiments in international friendship instead of assuming the usefulness of continued suspicion. If the America of Roosevelt is temporarily in eclipse, the Britain of Mr. Churchill has been replaced by the Britain of Mr. Attlee. There is good-will to Russia in France and Italy, in Norway and Sweden, in India and the new Indonesia, over and above that in the nations directly under its influence. The more Russia builds its policy upon that good-will, the deeper and wider is likely to be its influence. If, for example, Russia had whole-heartedly accepted the Lilienthal plan for the control of atomic energy, even with a reservation as to minor arrangements, we should by now have taken a long step on the road to disarmament. As it was, we got the impression that all Russia would accept was some futile sort of Kellogg pact unsupported by sanctions; only after weary months of discussion did Stalin say that Russia naturally agreed to inspection—a view which, I am confident, the Russian government recognized as necessary from the beginning of the discussion.

I agree that Russia has to walk very warily. The facts make it clear that the Vatican is directly and indirectly encouraging the enemies of Russia all over the world, and the Vatican has become, since Mussolini's day, one of the most militant supporters of reactionary privilege. Mr. Churchill's Fulton speech, made under the chairmanship of President Truman, was an unhappy contribution to peace-making, and his recent sponsorship of a committee for European Union from which Russia and the Slav countries are to be excluded is bound, for all his disclaimer, to seem like a streamlined form of the old *cordon sanitaire*. In the light of his plea for Anglo-American unity and Franco-German friendship, both of which seem chiefly desirable, in his mind, as methods of isolating Russia in the post-war world, it is easy to see why the British Labor Party recommends its members to have nothing to do with Mr. Churchill's plans. Of course the Russians watch the eagerness with which the bogy of the "invisible red hand" is used by every reactionary element in the United States—journalists like Westbrook Pegler, newspaper proprietors like Colonel McCormick, Southern Congressmen trying to suppress the elementary

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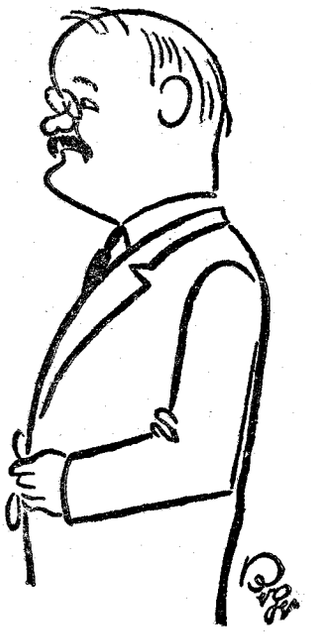
rights of the Negro, Northern Senators seeking to wrest from labor the gains won during the New Deal. That is what makes so valuable a forthright reply like that of Stalin to Bevin on the Anglo-Russian Mutual Assistance Treaty, as it makes so stupid the fantastic comment of *Pravda* which produced Bevin's note of protest. Why should the Politburo allow the Westbrook Peglers of their own journal to make enemies of those who want to be friends?

I think myself that mutual understanding would be helped if Russian statesmen said plainly that the international situation is not yet compatible with political democracy within Russia, instead of insisting that their political system is more genuinely democratic than that of any other country. It is of real importance, in this matter, to be honest. I think Russia has achieved a remarkable social democracy; it has gone, in my judgment, farther toward an effective democracy in the realm of economic life than any other country I have seen. But on the political plane there is no right of opposition; hostility to the policies of the one-party state brings very quickly the formidable charge of treasonable conspiracy. No writ of habeas corpus is honored. There can be arrest, internment, and exile without trial; a man may be imprisoned or executed without even his wife knowing the offense with which he is charged, or the evidence brought against him, or whether he is alive or dead. The secret police remain an *imperium in imperio,* reaching long fingers into the control of every aspect of national life.

For a member of the Politburo to try to school an intellectual in his duty is as foolish as if Arthur Greenwood or Herbert Morrison were to tell Sir Adrian Bax what kind of music he ought to compose or J. B. Priestley what theme to choose for his novels. Nor is it wise, in the long run, to satisfy the curiosity of a Russian about English elections by referring him to Charles Dickens's comic account of the Eatonswill election in "Pickwick Papers," or to arouse his horror at the presence of 109 capitalists in the House of Commons without making it clear to him that the Labor Party is the master there, at least until the next general election, by an immense majority. The House of Commons has no doubt many defects, but unlike the Supreme Soviet its debates are real debates, and it has a great record, which the Supreme Soviet would do well to emulate, as the guardian of personal freedom against threats from ministers, judges, and the police. It would be helpful to Russians to compare the British record in the realm of personal freedom during the war with their own. It would be even more helpful if the Politburo would inform its over-zealous propagandists that, over any considerable period, the only propaganda which has lasting value is that which is rooted in truth.

It is perfectly possible for anyone with common sense to understand why Generalissimo Stalin and his colleagues do not yet feel that the time has come for political democracy in Russia. In the Soviets' twenty-nine years of life there have been five years of civil war and nearly five years of international war. There have been grave conspiracies against the state; literacy is still relatively new; political maturity in a multi-national community of two hundred million people is hardly to be expected in a generation, least of all in the aftermath of a great war by which it was strained almost to the breaking point. If the leaders of the Russian government said this quite frankly, and if they added, as I think they are entitled to add, that in half a dozen vital realms of social activity they have nothing to learn from Western civilization and much to teach it, a good deal of the hostile criticism they encounter would be seen in proportions fatal to its effectiveness. The present method of claiming non-existent achievements only does harm to Russia because it is only believed by small groups of enthusiasts who have somehow persuaded themselves that the Russian people already are privileged to live in the Elysian Fields.



The Russian attitude is not unakin to that of a man who suddenly attains high status and is fearful that he may be overlooked; in order to make himself heard he indulges in an overemphasis that is often arrogant or theatrical. Americans were like that under the stress of criticism from other nations until quite recently; Dickens pointed out this quality both in "Martin Chuzzlewit" and in "Notes on America." For many years we in Europe were compelled to hear how everything in America was bigger and better than anything in our poor benighted continent. Belief in the "manifest destiny" of the United States was so excitedly sensitive that even men like President Theodore Roosevelt could not refrain from telling the world how to do its business. Anyone who watches the behavior of the Russian zealots must be aware of the resemblance to immature America. The new Russia is not sure of itself. It is looking for insults. It is afraid that someone may forget it has come of age. That leads it to throw its weight about, and to be difficult and irritating in negotiation.

Patience and good-will are going to be urgently needed in international relations for the next few years. I know no nation in a position to make war at present which

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wants war. Undoubtedly there are individuals who envisage war as possible, and certain interests which would welcome it. But I am confident that not one of the governments of the five great powers wants war, and that no difference exists between their aims which would justify war. Within the framework of determination that the peace must be kept and every precaution taken against aggression there are naturally differences of opinion, but at this stage, at any rate, they are differences of degree and not of kind, and differences of degree always yield to patience and good-will. A comparison of the angry meetings of the Council of Foreign Ministers in Paris and Moscow with the recent meetings of the Council in New York—at which real progress was made—shows that where there is genuine give and take the way is open to progressive understanding. Stalin was wholly right when he said that if the five great powers were determined to understand one another there was no reason why the United Nations should not work and war be banished from our lives. What this requires first of all is the recognition that politics is the art of compromise, and that there must be the skill and insight to find the way to a good compromise when it is necessary. I am not certain that Mr. Molotov has that skill and insight in the degree that Mr. Litvinov had it; I am quite sure that Generalissimo Stalin has it. It would be a great step forward if he could make Mr. Molotov see that a series of insistent and emphatic negatives, sometimes shrill, sometimes niggling, do not add up to the kind of compromise which makes both parties emerge from a transaction with real satisfaction and deepened mutual trust.

I have, therefore, profound confidence that there can be full reliance on the purposes of Russia once we convince its leaders that we are as eager as they are to make its international security effective and will take steps to see that any attempt to revive fascism is broken into pieces at its birth. We can ourselves make a real contribution by realizing that, in Poland, for example, safeguarding the forms of democracy is not necessarily the same thing as safeguarding its reality; the same principle holds for the Greek elections. But Russia can make a great contribution too. Grave harm is done to good-will when Russian authority is used to impose fusion on the Socialist and Communist parties in the Russian zone of Berlin. Grave harm is done when Russian control blocks the creation of a Germany that, though vigorously demilitarized, is yet viable enough to give its people the right to hope. Not least, the Russian government needs very badly to humanize its Foreign Office and its diplomatic services. If every Russian ambassador abroad treated the citizens of the country to which he is accredited with the wisdom and good-humor with which Stalin treats his visitors, the legend would soon perish that the Russians are a strange race, anxious at any cost to destroy bourgeois civilization. Most Russians, in fact, are hospitable and friendly people; given the chance, they would convince the world quickly of their good faith. And the men in the Kremlin need have no anxiety about the future of bourgeois civilization—it has long passed the point at which it was possible to save it.

How to Run Coal

BY McALISTER COLEMAN

BROPHY Urges Mines' Nationalization." This recent headline took old-timers in the labor movement back to the exciting days of 1921-22, when American coal diggers were seeking some other way out of their plight than the usual devastating strike. John Brophy, then president of District 2 of the United Mine Workers of America, with headquarters at Clearfield, Pennsylvania, was head of the Nationalization Committee created by the miners' union at its 1921 convention. For years it had been routine at conventions for the miners to pass a resolution in favor of the nationalization of the coal mines of the country. Now they decided to back their words with a plan for action.

McALISTER COLEMAN is an author and journalist who has long made labor problems his special field. His most recent book is "Men and Coal."

The man they picked to work out a plan was the quiet-spoken Brophy, son of a Lancashire miner, who had gone to work in the pits in Pennsylvania at the age of twelve and who, despite his Catholic upbringing, had early come to a Fabian socialism. Brophy, aided by progressive mine leaders from Pennsylvania and Indiana, enlisted the services of two competent researchers and publicity men, Robert Bruère and Heber Blankenhorn of the Bureau of Industrial Research, and in 1922 brought out his committee's report. It was called "How to Run Coal," and its proposals started a debate which resounded far beyond the coal fields.

It is a commentary on the lack of any long-range planning by the private interests responsible for coal production that Brophy, now Director of Industrial Union Councils for the C. I. O., can make today just about the same argument for nationalization of the mines as he made a quarter of a century ago. Nothing has happened

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since then to affect the truth of the fundamental charge —manhandling of one of our greatest natural resources —brought against private ownership by the original Brophy report. 'The coal industry," it said, "has been so disorganized and mismanaged that the situation in recent years has approached what big business men and stand-pat Senators describe as a 'catastrophe.' . . . Unless unification and order enter the industry, there will be a blow-up somewhere, followed by drastic, angry, and frenzied legislation. The American Kingdom of Coal is today in as chaotic and explosive condition as the states of Europe. No single, constructive suggestion has come from the operators. No large, leading idea has come from the public. The public is feeling intensely but is not yet thinking wisely. . . . The only large-scale proposal has come from the United Mine Workers of America in their demand for nationalization. It is the only proposal that grapples with slack work for the miners, higher prices, and irregular supply for the consumer."

LEWIS ON NATIONALIZATION

John L. Lewis, who had been head of the miners since 1919, backed away from the report and forbade discussion of it in the *United Mine Workers' Journal,* then edited by Ellis Searles, former press agent for the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce. Lewis, a protégé of Sam Gompers, followed the conservative line laid down by Gompers in opposing the Plumb plan for the nationalization of the railroads—a plan which had been the source of many of Brophy's ideas. Both Gompers and Lewis feared any change in their accustomed way of doing business with the bosses; both looked with dark suspicion upon any proposal emanating from such dread "intellectuals" as Blankenhorn and Bruère. Gompers was still dizzy from his successful debut into the best Democratic circles during World War I. Lewis was sitting cheek by jowl with Herbert Hoover, then Harding's Secretary of Commerce, who was promising that a formula would be found to avert government intervention. The formula turned out to be the Jacksonville agreement of 1923, which was promptly torn up by the operators, with the result that the miners' union was destroyed south of the Ohio River, not to reappear until the Blue Eagle days of the NRA. Lewis, however, stuck to his guns and published under his signature a fantastic book called "The Miners' Fight for American Standards," in which he reaffirmed his Republican faith in the beneficence of cutthroat competition in bituminous coal mining, of monopoly in anthracite. In a dubious election Lewis beat Brophy for the presidency of the miners' union, and until recently nothing more was heard of nationalization from the men in the pits.

The operators are making much of the fact that at the last U. M. W. convention a resolution favoring nationalization was defeated. This convention was of course a Lewis-dominated affair, and the resolution was tossed aside without debate. Since Lewis's recent abortive attempt to help the mine owners put an end to government operation of their properties, there is again talk of nationalization on the "gob-piles," where the miners gather for lunch. A new generation has entered the pits since the publication of the Brophy report. These younger diggers have been around, many of them overseas, where state ownership of resources is no such bugaboo as here. Given a chance for free discussion, which they do not enjoy as members of our most autocratic—if also, ironically, our most militant—international union, a large number of them would undoubtedly plump for nationalization. However, so long as Lewis keeps his iron grip on his 400,000 well-disciplined miners, we can expect no Macedonian call for it from the pits. And if Lewis is on his way out, as Drew Pearson has predicted, his successor, whom he will name, is unlikely to make any fundamental change in the union's social or economic policy.

So it is up to us, the consumers, who have had enough of the anarchy which characterizes the production of coal for private profit to bring some measure of "unification and order" into this perennially distressed industry.

Public administration of natural resources has been justified by the success of the Tennessee Valley Authority, the less spectacular achievements of the Interior Department's public-power and irrigation projects on the Pacific Coast, and the building and profitable operation of the Big Inch and other pipe lines. All these projects can serve as guideposts to an integrated fuel and power policy in which nationalized coal would play a dominant role. In the past twenty-five years research work in the Bureau of Mines, the engineering schools, and a few centers supported by the industry has shown the way to the more economical burning of coal and the use of its by-products. The technological "know-how" is ours for the hiring. We can end what Stuart Chase years ago called "the tragedy of waste" whenever we have the common will to do so.

Our common will to do something constructive about coal is immeasurably strengthened by the egregious failure of all parties to the present dispute to act their ages. President Truman has strutted his stuff as the nation's number one strike-breaker, the iniquitous injunction in labor disputes has been disinterred, the miners' treasury has been judicially looted, but the only proposal

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to come from the White House is the creation of another commission to consider ways of fragmenting industrial unions like the United Mine Workers. For their part, the operators, backed by their bosses in the utilities, the railroads, and steel, are sticking to the late George M. Cohan's dictum that "many a bum show has been saved by the flag." They have assumed the role of patriotic and innocent bystanders, in the meantime pocketing the profits handed over to them by the naval officers who are operating the mines on behalf of the Department of the Interior—as weird a set-up as has ever been devised for this essentially bizarre industry. Egged on by the open-shoppers, the Southern operators are paving the way for another nation-wide strike this spring, when they will attempt to renege on the basic Appalachian Agreement of 1941, which for the first time made the Southern operators pay civilized wages and under the extension of which the mines are still operating. This will give the atavistic Mr. Lewis his chance to come back fighting, and the whole hoorah will begin all over again.

A FEDERAL COAL AUTHORITY

When the public sobers up from its recent emotional spree about coal, those who are at last willing, in Brophy's words, to "think wisely" about the industry will not view a sensible plan for the nationalization of the mines under democratic controls as the "opening wedge to communism," whatever the operators say. There are indications that strong popular support would be given to a plan for having coal run by a federal authority patterned after the TVA. Purchase of the mine properties by the government after a fair valuation and through the exchange of government debentures for privately owned paper would turn a national headache into a national asset. The groups most concerned with the continuous abundant production of cheap coal—the miners, the technicians, and the consumers, small and large—would have representation on the board of directors of the authority.

The authority would operate the mines through regional boards whose decisions would not have to be made in Washington and whose concern would be the engineered production of coal for the use of all consumers. Unburdened by the present private concept of coal as "something that can be mined profitably," these boards would have an eye to the conservation of what is still our most precious natural resource. The high-cost "marginal mines" could be eliminated by a public authority, which would see to it that displaced miners received severance pay while being trained for new occupations.

The authority could integrate coal with hydroelectric power and natural gas and put an end to the present wasteful cross-hauling of competing coals by the profit-hungry railroads. And because it would be free of the domination of vested interests, it could greatly expand the underground gassification of coal, or the burning of it at the pit-mouth, with the transmission of the energy thus derived through pipe lines or power lines. Though the solid-fuels technicians in the Bureau of Mines have done a yeoman's job investigating new domestic sources of coking coal, advising federal agencies and private industries on the efficient use of fuel-burning equipment, and gathering general technical information which could save millions of tons of coal a year, the private operators have been too busy warring on their help to pay heed to such "high-brow" activities. The immediate application of such research findings and the expansion of research to the barely scratched field of coal's invaluable by-products would be a "must" for a public authority.

It is in the field of human relations, however, that the authority, under decentralized, democratic controls, would prove of the greatest value. It would bargain with the miners' union as the TVA now bargains over wages and hours with the Tennessee Valley Trades and Labor Council, which represents some 16,000 workers. Nationalization, to be sure, will not end all labor-management disputes: miners, without a contract, will walk out on government-operated mines, as was proved not long ago. But American coal diggers, despite all the recent propaganda, are good democrats; indeed, those who have lived with them have found them to be among the most likable, alert, and courageous of all our industrial workers. If they are given a voice that counts in decisions affecting their welfare and a status befitting their all-important part in the national economy, they will not be found neglectful of the public good.

Proposals now being advanced, even in some liberal quarters, that in the event of government operation no-strike clauses be written into contracts with workers in key industries are pointless, to put it mildly. It would take a large part of the standing army, to say nothing of the navy, to keep miners in the pits against their will. The public authority would look to the causes of the miners' discontent. Their present demands are not, as some person would have us believe, wholly a matter of wages. They have to do with living conditions in enclaves far removed from ordinary American amenities, with high prices in company stores, with inadequate educational facilities, with the deadly monotony of existence on remote cinder patches, which the younger people here as in England loathe so bitterly. They have to do, as well, with the death of 1,500 miners a year and the injuring of some 50,000 in accidents, many of which are preventable.

Under the best of circumstances the mining of coal will always be a back-breaking occupation attended by unusual hazards. However, under private operation, with a few honorable exceptions, no serious large-scale attempt has been made to better the circumstances. The

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general run of hard-boiled mine owners consider even the more rigid enforcement of safety codes under government operation and the setting up of health, welfare, and medical funds to be red-revolutionary activities. Of course these men and the powerful interests which they serve will scoff at the suggestion that only a public authority such as is here roughly outlined can handle these human problems. But their protests will fall on deaf ears once the public realizes that there is an alternative, and a democratic one to boot, to the recurrent coal wars which keep our power-driven economy so perilously on edge.

Korea: An American Tragedy

BY WILL HAMLIN

Seoul, Korea, February 6

KOREA is seething with unrest. United States army intelligence officers are frankly worried and have warned the American command of possible violent demonstrations in the near future. Numerous factors are contributing to this explosive situation. People are beginning to feel the pangs of hunger as the food crisis forces prices skyward on all the necessities of living. The farmers are angered by the high-handed methods being used to collect the rice harvest, methods which have been far from successful. Great excitement was aroused by the alleged rape in early January of three Korean women by American soldiers. As a result overt hostility is being shown toward both Americans and Russians, and less and less effort is made to apportion the blame for the country's ills between the two occupying powers.

The American command in South Korea, disregarding the recommendations of the recently adjourned Korean-American conference called by General Hodge to study the country's problems, has seen fit to maintain in office notorious Japanese collaborators and grafting politicians. Among these are the Korean directors of the national police and the Seoul municipal police, both of whom were indicted by the conference on several counts, including outright corruption. The local police are hated by the people for their brutal and arbitrary actions, but are upheld for political reasons. The summary "justice" meted out by American military courts to Koreans accused of crimes against the American forces also rankles in the Korean mind.

Recently the American command authorized the formation of a so-called "Interim Legislative Assembly" composed of forty-five elected members and forty-five appointees. As soon as the legislature began to feel its oats and showed signs of becoming an embryonic democratic institution under the progressive leadership of Dr. Kim Kyu Sik, it was informed by the Americans that it derived its power not from the people but from the Military Government and that its decisions could be no more than suggestions to the American authorities. It had been about to make a sweeping and much-needed investigation of Korean government personnel and to enact a radical land reform when it found it was practically impotent. Unless American policy is radically altered and the legislature is allowed to go its own way, the Korean people will lose any interest they still feel in this abortive experiment in democracy.

WILL HAMLIN is the nom de plume of a member of the American occupation forces in Korea.

THE RHEE SYNGMAN PLOT

The American command finally learned the truth about Dr. Rhee Syngman, wealthy right-wing leader and one-time unofficial Korean representative in Washington, and induced him to leave Korea so that Dr. Kim Kyu Sik could take the initiative in forming the interim legislature and in seeking the political unification of right and left. In the early days of the occupation General Hodge, acting on poor advice, gave tacit support to Dr. Rhee and his colleagues, the State Department having omitted to inform the American commander of the suspicions that several years of unofficial contact with Rhee had generated. Finally, Hodge found him out to be the ambitious egocentric that he is, a man too much influenced by the desire for money and political power to be relied upon for sincere patriotic leadership.

Rhee's latest adventure—his trip to the United States in December ostensibly to plead the cause of Korean independence before the United Nations—damned him in American eyes here. In the first place, some thirty million yen was "voluntarily" contributed by South Korean citizens (many large companies collected a compulsory levy on all employees regardless of their sentiments) to cover the expenses of this pilgrimage. Through negotiations with local American Protestant missionaries Rhee managed to exchange this sum for dollar bank credits in the United States at the rate of 100 yen to the dollar, whereas the legal rate is 15 yen to the dollar. The entire transaction was clearly illegitimate, and all parties concerned must have known it.

When the real reason for Dr. Rhee's trip finally came to light, the American authorities here received an even greater shock. The story is essentially this. Before his departure Rhee gathered his lieutenants about him and

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concocted a plan which, if successful, would deliver the political, and thus the economic, control of Korea into their hands. The first step was to be a rightist-inspired demonstration in South Korea directed not only against the Russians and Americans and the idea of trusteeship in general but particularly against General Hodge and his policies. The signal for this affair was to be a telegram from Rhee in the United States. It was thought that the demonstration would be so damaging to American prestige and attended by such violence that the American command would be forced to jail its leaders. Three men —Kim Koo, Cho Whan Ku, and Ahm Hung Suk—were selected to be the martyrs. The jailing of these men would in turn be the signal for Rhee to launch a vigorous campaign against Hodge in the United States in the hope that it would result in his removal, for with Hodge in command, Rhee and his group knew they would never be able to gain a dominating position in the country. As soon as a replacement for Hodge was named, the plan called for Rhee to request the new American commander to set up a separate South Korean government. Then, with the aid of his political henchmen, the national police, Dr. Rhee hoped to bring off a coup d'état. The final step was to be the imposition of the authority of this South Korean government on North Korea, by peaceful means if possible, if not, by bringing about war between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Fantastic? Perhaps, but the American command evidently did not think so when it alerted the Seventh Division. Dr. Rhee's telegram has arrived; right-wing leaders from all over South Korea have met in Seoul to make plans for the demonstrations; rightist groups are carrying on a vigorous anti-Hodge campaign. The bulk of the people now believe that the General is on the verge of agreeing to the Soviet terms for reconvening the Joint Soviet-American Commission which adjourned in complete disagreement in Seoul last May. Under these terms all persons who have expressed opposition to a trusteeship would be excluded from consultation with the commission and from participation in an interim government. In effect, this would mean the exclusion of everyone except members of the Communist Party and of a few affiliated groups, a very small minority. The report about General Hodge's intentions, erroneous as it surely is, is apparently being deliberately propagated. Moreover, Rhee has $300,000 in his pocket, and probably millions more are available from business friends in the United States who might care to invest in the venture. No wonder the American authorities are worried.

GENERAL HODGE AND THE COMMUNISTS

General Hodge is undoubtedly the best man in Korea. Unfortunately he is surrounded by inept and inefficient—and sometimes corrupt—army brass. He is hardly on speaking terms with Major General Archer L. Lerch, military governor of Korea, who is thoroughly disliked by the Korean people, but he is smeared by the ill-advised actions of Lerch and other subordinates.

The major sin of which General Hodge is guilty apparently stems from his lack of knowledge of Communist tactics. In spite of continued warnings from his political advisers, he is playing right into the hands of the Communists in South Korea and swelling their ranks at every turn. For instance, he maintains that anyone attacked by the Communists should be kept in office—even such notorious figures as the Korean directors of the national police and the Seoul police—because to remove them would be to give in to Communist demands. Apparently he forgets that the Communists exploit an evil situation for their own ends—to arouse feeling against the "reactionary" and "imperialistic" Americans. If the evil were removed, the wind would be taken out of their sails. The way to combat communism is to offer something better. Instead, striking students have been expelled without any sincere effort to learn their grievances; once legitimate left-wing groups, particularly farmers' associations and labor unions, have been forced underground; and the many paper guaranties of civil liberties have been made a farce by allowing the politically infested police and courts to run wild—the present chief justice of the Korean Supreme Court once remarked that any judge fit to hold office was naturally influenced by prejudice in a case involving a leftist.

Caricature by Seligson
General Hodge

In short, the American Military Government is doing all it can to drive Korea into communism, although up to a few months ago the people plainly preferred some form of democratic socialism. General Hodge, like many of his compatriots, fails to recognize that the arch enemy of the "party" is the social democrat, the progressive, the liberal—not the reactionary. It is understandable that the Russians have refrained from suggesting a joint withdrawal of American and Soviet forces. A few more months and the Americans will have delivered South Korea solidly into the waiting arms of the Soviet-controlled Korean Communist Party.

Any consideration of the Korean muddle must include a reference to the State Department, whose first political directive relative to Korea arrived nine months after the

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occupation had begun. Since then it has time and again taken action on Korea without consulting the American command here or even giving warning of its intentions. The American authorities have been seriously embarrassed on numerous occasions and are never certain that their decisions will not be reversed by Washington.

The General has frequently urged Washington to seek a simultaneous withdrawal of Soviet and American troops from Korea, but to no avail. It is true that this might mean civil war, but what modern progressive nation has been born without birth pains? As far as the United States is concerned, the point of diminishing returns has long since passed. There is no possibility now of obtaining the cooperation of the Korean people. They simply want us and the Russians to get out and let them have their independence for better or worse.

After the horrible expense of the Pacific war it is tragic to see the United States lose every shred of the prestige it once had in this part of the world through the gruesome débâcle in Korea. The blame must be placed right at the door of the War and State departments, which have failed to provide a satisfactory administration for this critical area where the American and Soviet ways of life are contesting for favor. The whole episode is somewhat like a race in reverse. It is a moot question whether the Russians in the north or the Americans in the south are doing the worst job. Right now, the Americans seem a little ahead in this backward sprint.

British Socialism Begins at Home

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

London, February 10

CRITICISM of the British Labor government's foreign policy in the past two years has tended to obscure its remarkable efforts in the field of domestic policy to break the hold of big business and monopoly capital by a bold program of nationalization. Taking an objective view, however, one must recognize that British Labor is attempting a profound transformation of the nation's economy in the face of extremely difficult conditions and against terrible odds.

The hardest problem is to build on the foundations of an empire that is today a historical anachronism. The somber drama of this great empire in the process of disintegration cannot be relieved even by playing up the extraordinary determination of the British people to accept any sacrifice that will set their country on its feet again. On the one hand, the law of history has obliged London to apply the principle of self-determination in India and Burma; on the other hand, each time a piece is lifted out of the empire another blow is dealt to the economy stability of Britain. The readjustment from the flourishing empire of five decades ago to the curious British conglomeration of today would be difficult under any circumstances; it is incredibly painful at the end of a war in which Britain gave everything it had. In men, in human suffering, other nations may have paid a greater price, but in terms of national effort and the expenditure of its national wealth England was second to none. Now the utterly exhausted people of Britain must shoulder the burden of rebuilding their land and propping up a crumbling empire. Last year when I visited London for the first time since 1940 it seemed to me that their fatigue was temporary, the kind of healthy tiredness that comes after an almost superhuman job has been accomplished successfully. My second visit has made me realize that their weariness is more intense than I had assumed.

This impression was undoubtedly heightened by the fact that I arrived in England in the midst of a cold wave that would nip the most daring impulse in the bud. According to the Weather Bureau, the cold has been more severe in Paris than in London these past days, but somehow one feels it more here. The dampness penetrates to the marrow; a leaden sky casts a pall of sadness over the city. I have experienced bitter cold days in Berlin, Vienna, New York, and even in Soria, Spain, but I cannot remember ever having been so close to freezing to death as one night last week in London. I had spent the evening with some friends—discussing Bevin, the atomic bomb, Russia, the weakness of the American left—in a house where a tiny electric heater was more a courteous gesture than a radiator of warmth.

The people are taking these hardships good-naturedly without trying to get around the law. Their food rations have been worked out scientifically and are no doubt adequate, but the fare is so monotonous that one is bound to lose one's appetite. Yet, unlike the French, the British are not inclined to rail at the shortage of meat and bread or to blame—however unjustly—the government and the selfish Americans who live amid luxury and abundance. Certainly most Europeans feel Americans have not yet realized that unless they help Europe they will wake up one day to find a group of nations which are incapable of buying American products in sufficient quantity to prevent an economic crisis in the United States. But Britons have learned to accept hunger in their stride.

Unfortunately, this very stoicism, however much a part of their character, imposes a kind of strain on the British and makes them unable to understand the nature

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of other Europeans. With a little more political imagination the Labor government might have surmounted the present critical situation to make Blum's visit to London more fruitful. With England paralyzed by the worst winter in many years, I realize how difficult it would have been for Prime Minister Attlee to announce that he had accorded France a larger share of Ruhr coal. But in the last analysis the greatest problem, it seems to me, is the inability of the average Englishman to appreciate any mode of life other than his own. He is outraged in a polite sort of way by the elegance of the Parisians, by the restaurants off the Champs-Elysées where one can eat magnificently well at prohibitive prices, by the advertisements for expensive new perfumes and the opulent displays in the windows of the shops along the Rue de la Paix. What he does not realize is that the bulk of these luxury items are shipped abroad to provide France with foreign currency.

Despite these obstacles, Blum's visit has produced some results. The discussions of Anglo-French trade and economic collaboration, initiated when he was here, are going ahead. Their aim is something more than an ordinary commercial agreement. Since France and England face similar problems, there is talk of combining the Monnet and Morrison plans for reconstruction and of setting up complementary industries that would link the economies of the two countries. Obviously an important phase of such a plan would be to divert to the non-dollar nations part of the orders which are now going to the United States. For the specter of the coming American crisis is very present in the minds of the men who are rebuilding out of the ruins of Europe; they fear too close a tie with America's economy, today so powerful, yet liable at any moment to crack under the chaotic and arbitrary rule of monopoly capital.

Labor's achievements at home explain its successive victories in the by-elections that have taken place since 1945. The Attlee government has lived up to its domestic program as outlined in the campaign manifesto "Let Us Face the Future." The domestic platform on which Labor went to the polls had three parts: to meet the immediate post-war problems; to pursue a program of social redress; to effect the transfer of Britain's economic machinery from private to national ownership. The nationalization program has been pushed vigorously, to the dismay of those who confidently assumed that point three was mere rhetoric: the Bank of England, the coal mines, overseas communications, and civil aviation are already under state control; bills to nationalize the railways and electric utilities are now before Parliament; and the government has under consideration similar measures covering the oil, gas, and iron and steel industries. Such a daring handling of the question of nationalization makes the first Ramsay MacDonald experiment look like a harmless excursion into academic Fabianism. On the trade front the last eighteen months have seen a spectacular rise in exports, accomplished partly by depriving the population of the simplest comforts; but Britain is still a long way from its goal of a 75 per cent increase over the pre-war volume, and the people face several more years of austere existence.

The most crucial issue confronting the Cabinet is to provide homes for a large part of the British population who are still without a place to live. This problem is being tackled by Aneurin Bevan, one of the ablest and most refreshing personalities in the government. A few days ago he promised that by the end of this year there would be 300,000 new homes. Labor's future may depend in great measure on its ability to fulfil this ambitious program; I am sure Bevan would not risk his party's reputation and his own by making predictions that cannot possibly be realized.

But the bravest of human efforts have their limitations, and in this moment Britain's prospects are not bright. The recent White Paper soberly assessed the situation and concluded that "the position of Great Britain is extremely serious." Fourteen industries surveyed in the White Paper require 657,000 workers if they are to return to pre-war levels of production. No one can figure out where they are to be had. Proposals for utilizing foreign workers have met with strong objections from the trade unions. The Communist-led unions are hostile to the idea because they fear it would give the government a chance to bring in Poles from the Anders army, White Russians, and other suspect Eastern Europeans who have chosen to become political exiles from their respective countries. More serious is the objection by union leaders that employers would be tempted to use this cheap imported labor to cut union wage scales.

The only large source of additional man-power is the British army, with its million and a half men still in active service. If the government demobilized these soldiers and sent them into the factories, it would not only solve the man-power shortage but eliminate a budget expense which the country can ill afford. But this supposes a foreign policy which rules out the idea of a showdown between the Soviet Union and the Anglo-Saxon world. That is why Stalin's telegram to Bevin was received here with a deep sense of relief, and the Churchill proposal for a European Union, which might be interpreted as another step toward an anti-Russian coalition, was rejected by the majority of the Labor rank and file.

In the continuing controversy between the British Socialists and Communists the latter may try to minimize what Labor has done. Apparently Stalin does not share their view, for when a delegation headed by Harold Laski visited Russia last summer, he told them that the accomplishments of the Labor government confirmed his opinion that there are other paths than the Russian to socialism.

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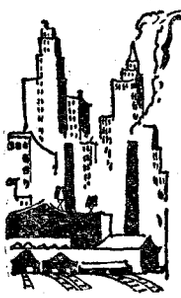

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Colonial Socialism

OUT in the East African bush country bulldozers and tractors, demobilized from British army service, have started to clear land for the biggest socialized farming development to be found outside Russia. Plans for the current year call for planting 150,000 acres to groundnuts—peanuts to you—but this is merely a beginning. Next year a much larger acreage will be put into production, and by the time the project is completed five or six years hence, almost 3,250,000 acres, divided into 107 fully mechanized farms of 30,000 acres, will be devoted to the humble but invaluable goober.

This scheme, conceived less than a year ago, has been rushed through by the British government because of the urgent necessity of enlarging world supplies of animal and vegetable oils and fats. According to the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations, 1946 world production of these dietetic essentials was 16,000,000 tons compared to about 20,000,000 pre-war—a deficiency which is one of the biggest causes of the malnutrition afflicting so many nations. Britain itself, much better off than many countries, needs another million tons a year, and it hopes to obtain upwards of 600,000 tons in the form of peanut oil when the new East African venture is in full production.

From the world's necessities springs Africa's opportunity. In the British mandate of Tanganyika and the adjacent colonies of Kenya and Northern Rhodesia a growing population is pressing heavily on a limited food supply. The productivity of the native peasants, who till the soil with hoes and use no fertilizer, is extremely low, and it is now seldom possible for them to shift to a new patch of land when the soil becomes exhausted. Yet in this area there are vast stretches that are practically uninhabited either because they lack surface water or because they are infested by the tsetse fly, deadly to man and beast alike. Most of the land scheduled for the peanut project is of this type. Clearing the bush where the tsetse flies breed will make it habitable, and the construction of catchment basins and the drilling of wells will look after the water supply. Normal rainfall in the selected districts will in any case be sufficient for peanut-growing provided that moisture-conserving methods of cultivation are followed.

Since the farms are to be fully mechanized, labor requirements will not be large, and this is important, for man-power in the colonies involved is by no means abundant. Each farm, it is estimated, will provide permanent employment for some three hundred Africans. Seventy of these will be skilled men —tractor drivers, mechanics, dispensers, clerks, and so forth— and many of them, it is hoped, can be recruited from among those who fought in the East African regiments during the war. It is not easy for such men, who acquired a considerable degree of education in the service, to readjust to ordinary tribal life.

Three hundreds workers and their families will form a village community large enough to be properly provided with amenities. It will have its store, school, clinic, and other welfare institutions. In areas where water supplies permit, ancillary farming operations are likely to be developed, making possible a growth in population. Peanut vines are a good fodder, and the crop-rotation system which will be followed will leave the land under grass half the time. Thus there should be opportunities for dairying and cattle breeding.

The report of the technical mission sent by the Colonial Office to East Africa last summer very strongly emphasizes the importance of research in connection with the project. Continuous investigations of soil fertility, plant breeding, insect pests, crop diseases, nutritional problems, and other related matters are an integral part of the scheme. Such studies, together with the demonstrations of scientific farming which the peanut tracts will afford, will gradually influence agricultural practice over a wide area.

The additional wealth created in the three territories will be of very considerable significance in raising standards of living. For instance, when the project is fully developed, the exports of Tanganyika, where about half the farms will be located, will be doubled, making possible increased imports of consumer goods. The expansion of local-government revenues will make greater sums available for welfare developments. Communication improvements, including new railroad, highway, and port facilities, which are an intrinsic part of the scheme, will open up large areas to trade.

These groundnut estates are to be owned and managed by a public corporation financed by the British Treasury, which will advance in instalments something over $100,000,000. Later, when this investment has been amortized, the plan contemplates transfer of control to the colonial governments. Eventually, it is hoped, native cooperatives will take over the whole project. However, this final stage is admittedly a long way off, and I would like more definite information about what happens to profits from the scheme meanwhile. Assuming the accuracy of the financial estimates on which the British government is proceeding, the margin between cost, including interest and amortization, and sales price will be very substantial as long as the world shortage of fats continues. The technical mission's report, in fact, speaks of a "saving" on the British food bill of some $40,000,000 a year. Does this mean that the whole crop will be sold to the British Ministry of Food at cost, so that the whole "profit" accrues to Britain?

I hope that when the project is discussed in Parliament this important point will be elucidated. To me it seems essential that in colonial-development schemes of this kind all or most of the profits be retained in the colonies and used to build up their productive capacity and raise living standards. If this is not done, colonial peoples are likely to think that socialist exploitation is painfully similar to capitalist exploitation. Subject to this qualification, we can agree with the London *Times* that the plan is "the boldest and most comprehensive ever launched for developing backward territories." Let us hope it will serve as an inspiration for other efforts to spread the benefits of Western technique, efforts which the industrially advanced peoples must make if their own productivity is not to prove a curse.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Life with Franco

COMPLACENT DICTATOR. By the Rt. Hon. Sir Samuel Hoare (Viscount Templewood). Alfred A. Knopf. $3.50.

A YEAR ago, when I was back in Spain for a brief visit, the fascist newspapers were having great sport with Hoare's reminiscences, which had already been published in London. His statement that he took a Scotland Yard escort to Madrid in 1940 and himself carried a revolver as protection against kidnapping amused them no end. But it is to the credit of the British Foreign Service that at least the Franco regime did not hasten to publish these memoirs in Spain, as it did those of Carlton J. H. Hayes, who was American ambassador during the later stages of Hoare's mission to Madrid.

This is the first volume of a series of memoirs by Hoare, and his American publisher would have been well advised to retain the non-committal English title, "Ambassador on Special Mission." Franco is, to be sure, an extremely puffed-up little man. But his complacency hardly surpasses that of Hoare himself, and it is not to be spoken of in the same breath with that of Hayes.

As the Hoare-Laval deal had demonstrated years before, such considerations as democracy, collective security, and so on were all chimeras to Hoare's "realistic" mind—it was the same realism that led his friend and colleague, Neville Chamberlain, up the Munich path. His appointment as ambassador to Madrid was therefore interpreted by the Spanish fascists as a sign that the British wanted to make a deal; he arrived in Madrid just as France was collapsing and Mussolini was nerving himself to attack a beaten foe. So there were numerous Anglo-Falangista deals. But it must be said to Hoare's credit that he drove as hard bargains as he could, and that the refusal of Franco to declare war in June, 1940, or in January, 1941, was due as much to him as to any one man.

Hayes did not arrive in Madrid until 1943, and by that time the danger that Franco would openly join Hitler had disappeared. Hoare's informing book, filled with its scorn of Franco and most of the gang he had around him, is a welcome contrast to the special pleading of Hayes, for whom Hoare had a contempt that is poorly masked here. Their great quarrel came in 1944, when the State Department, smarting under Franco's cable of congratulations to the puppet whom the Japanese had installed as head of the Philippine "republic," ordered Hayes to demand a complete embargo on the export of Spanish wolfram to Hitler. Hoare was against this long-over-due requirement, which the democracies could easily have enforced by continuing their embargo on Franco's supplies of gasoline. His alibi, given here, is very unconvincing, and it is clear that by then his years of appeasement had become a habit. It was constitutionally impossible for him to compel even the "complacent dictator" to come across. Despite Hayes's delight at rubbing shoulders with Spanish grandees and his general approval of the Franco regime, it was the American ambassador who was in the right on the wolfram question.

But Hoare rendered an undeniable service to the Allied cause by his inimitable sangfroid, even though his boast now about having kept on playing tennis in the bad June days of 1940 rather takes the edge off what was a very good performance. Equally important, today, is his authoritative disclosure of the hostile acts committed by Franco throughout the war. His book should be required reading for all the present-day "realists" who argue that, after all, Franco didn't actually declare war on the Allies. In a memorandum to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in July, 1943, Hoare detailed, in what he calls a "grand remonstrance," occupying seven pages in his book, the "instances of unneutral facilities granted or not denied to the Axis, and of discrimination against British subjects and British interests."

These included facilities given five Italian and German submarines to leave Spanish ports instead of being interned, refueling of U-boats in the harbor of Vigo itself, crews of Axis military planes repatriated and British crews detained, facilities given Axis espionage and sabotage groups in the neighborhood of Gibraltar and elsewhere, constant attacks on Britain and its Allies in the Spanish press. The memorandum concluded: "Meanwhile the Blue Division remains in Russia, and looks, unless quick action is taken, like being the last non-German force left fighting for the Germans. Events, in fact, are developing very fast, and Spain is in serious danger of being overtaken by them."

Unfortunately, no such events have overtaken Franco Spain, and this is to be attributed mainly to the fact that Hoare, and the men like him still in the Foreign Office, are concerned with the short-term interests of Britain.

It has been British policy for a century and more to support a weak regime in Spain, and Franco is as weak a ruler as the Foreign Office could want. In good Churchillian style Hoare would like to see him replaced by "a constitutional monarchy, untainted by Falange poison and based on political amnesty, free discussion, and vigorous social reform." Meanwhile, however, Franco rules in accord with the interests of Britain, whatever may happen to the Spanish people. But it is to Hoare's credit that he has a lively contempt for him. He publishes with relish Franco's letter to Churchill of October, 1944, proposing that Britain join Spain in an alliance against Russia, and Churchill's acid rejection. The book contains also the State Department documents proving Franco's close working arrangements with Hitler and Mussolini.

THOMAS J. HAMILTON

Fragments of Fragments

A KIERKEGAARD ANTHOLOGY. Edited by Robert Bretall. Princeton University Press. $5.

SHALL we say that Kierkegaard has at last arrived in America: he has his anthology? (Ours is the Reprint Era, but let us comfort ourselves, re-

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membering that the Italian *Renaissance* was also a period of the *re*print.)

Sooner or later the anthologist was bound to catch up with Kierkegaard: the quality of nearly all his writing—abounding in purple patches, repetitions, and verbosity—seems to promise that nothing, or not very much, will be lost by selection. But if Kierkegaard's strength does not lie in the order, economy, or logical development of his ideas, it does on the other hand lie in the intensity of experience and irony he is able to concentrate on isolated particular points. And when we do not allow him his density, we are apt to remain unsatisfied with the dilution. His books suggest natural gardens, wild and irregular, where cutting and clipping may mark out paths easier to follow, but will inevitably diminish the powerful impression communicated by the whole wild tangle. To cite one example: the passages from "Either/Or" in this volume are chosen in order to give us the gist of Kierkegaard's distinction of the levels of human existence—aesthetic, ethical, religious—but I doubt whether enough is given to enable a person who has not read through the whole book to grasp these levels in their full concreteness; and with Kierkegaard concreteness is of the essence.

I do not mean to insinuate any doubts as to the excellent job Mr. Bretall has done in editing these selections; only to call attention to the attendant danger that the reader who has not previously touched Kierkegaard or has been repelled by the difficulties may be tempted to make this volume a substitute for reading any single work from cover to cover. Kierkegaard's own ironical title, "Philosophical Fragments," may truly describe his whole philosophic contribution, but ought we to compound his quality by taking fragments of fragments? The real and serious usefulness of this anthology will be as a companion and introduction to the study of Kierkegaard's works themselves: Mr. Bretall has arranged his selection in chronological sequence so that the reader obtains a kind of panoramic view of the entire gamut of Kierkegaard's writings.

Another scheme might have been followed in this anthology. Though Kierkegaard's thought deliberately baffles systematization, it does center in a certain number of major issues, like (1) the three stages, aforementioned, of human existence, (2) existential dialectics, (3) the concept of dread, or anxiety, the "sickness unto death." An anthology along these lines might omit a good deal of the specifically Christian material that Mr. Bretall includes, but it would have other compensations. Mr. Bretall remarks that "The Sickness unto Death" is his favorite among Kierkegaard's works and that he is printing more of it proportionately than of any other; but I do not think what he prints, or even the work itself, is fully intelligible apart from the correlated "Concept of Dread." In the anthology I am suggesting there might have been room for both works. Such an anthology might tend, of course, to separate the philosopher from the Christian in Kierkegaard, and in any final sense such a separation appears impossible. But we should remember that Kierkegaard's influence has fructified also in men without any religious persuasion—Jaspers (until his recent conversion), Heidegger, and the French existentialists—and his ultimate stature has to be measured in the light of this influence.

The degree of this influence will hardly permit us to relegate Kierkegaard to a minor rank. Is this a rather crude and "pragmatic" test? I think you will find it works pretty well for the history of ideas, where, so far as I know, no influence—whether for good or ill—has ever spread wide or deep without having laid hold of some intuition that really marks a new turning point in thought. And if you want a more internal clue to Kierkegaard's importance, you can find it in the fact that some of the main categories of his thought—anxiety, dread of freedom, death—are on their way to becoming the key terms, the verbal stigmata, of our present civilization. Take the example of the "sickness unto death," which looks like mere religious psalmody until we hear Freud telling us that we are eventually killed by our inner conflicts. Doctors have lately been performing lobotomies with considerable success, and we can imagine some future stage of science where the operation has been so perfected that it will relieve us of most of our conflicts—at the price of relieving us of most of our personality. Under such circumstances human beings would be faced with a very plain choice: to consent to be a person is to consent to the burdens and tensions that eventually kill us; or, as Kierkegaard would put it, the will to be a self is also the will to "the sickness unto death." It is evidence of Kierkegaard's genius that he could grasp through the introspective imagination a profound character of the human condition that we had to wait for psychoanalysis to validate empirically.

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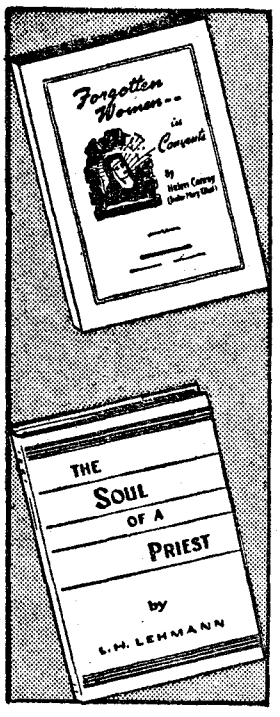

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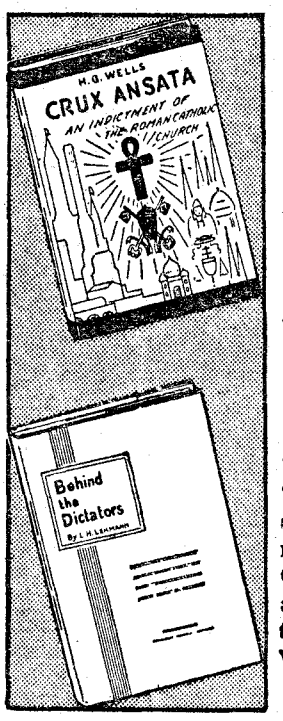

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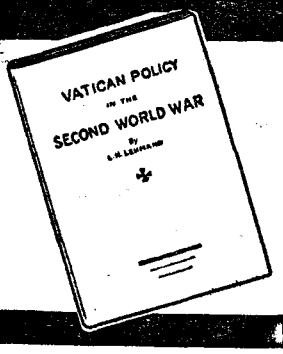

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And within philosophy itself we have the analogous evidence that Kierkegaard, existing in parochial Copenhagen, nevertheless participates in a very broad movement that sweeps through a much wider part of modern philosophy than contemporary existentialism. This movement, including Nietzsche, Bergson, the German *Lebensphilosophen,* also touches William James, Bradley, and Whitehead in part, and a good many other figures too. It is not always easy to define what is at issue in this modern tendency, but at least it is united in its revolt against the classical and eighteenth-century confidence in human reason. And Kierkegaard, had he really grasped his historical position, would have directed his great polemic against Leibnitz—as the last complete rationalist, in the older sense—rather than Hegel, who is already infected with the newer content. Kierkegaard owes more to Hegel—and in a positive, not merely negative sense—than is commonly recognized: Hegel had already composed his own "dialectical lyrics," and Kierkegaard could not have written "The Sickness unto Death" if Hegel's "Phenomenology" had not already analyzed "the unhappy consciousness." And in his earlier work Hegel had already elaborated, in practice, a kind of "existential dialectic"—which ceased to be existential because he let it be directed too easily into the system. Now, though this tendency in modern thought has often been rightly criticized as antirational, we should be mistaken not to see beneath its disturbed and disturbing surface the ferment of a new orientation for human reason. And it is rather odd, though perhaps significant, that Husserl, who has usually been criticized for lacking the historical sense and who on the whole stands apart from this tendency, should nevertheless have been the one to formulate most clearly the historical task that agitates its depths: the necessity that human reason grasp and reconstitute itself anew.

Put in this broad historical frame, Kierkegaard becomes a figure inviting very careful scrutiny. We are currently running the danger of having his readers divide into two rigid groups: those who never read any philosophy before they heard of French existentialism, and for whom Kierkegaard is something of a literary fad—the newest old hat from Paris, if I may slightly paraphrase Sidney Hook; and, on the other hand, the various petty tyrants of Philosophy I throughout the land who are ready to read him out of their classroom for inconsistencies, obscurity, or what not. Kierkegaard deserves better readers. So long as we still exist *in* the modern problem of the "reconstitution of human reason," we are not finished with him.

WILLIAM BARRETT

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Employment

PLANNING AND PAYING FOR FULL EMPLOYMENT. Edited by Abba P. Lerner and Frank D. Graham. Princeton University Press. $3.

THIS symposium by eleven economists brought together by the American Labor Conference on International Affairs is unified mainly by the aim of all of them—to maintain full employment without abandoning private enterprise. The majority believes that the chief means of doing so is to assure ample purchasing power in the market. Beyond this, the opinions diverge widely. A number of the authors have favorite schemes of their own. Some lay greater stress on the difficulties than do others.

Frank D. Graham, for instance, thinks that the job can and should be done without deficit financing, without additional taxation, and without a variable program of public works. He advocates the issue of money by extension of credit against unsold goods whenever it is desirable to clear the markets of excess inventories and so keep production steady at a full-employment level. Henry Simons also is dubious about the commonly recommended remedies, but believes that the key lies in a perfected system of taxation depending mainly on the personal income tax, with variation of the exemption from time to time so that the burden on consumers will be less when production lags. Abba P. Lerner recommends increase of the public debt when necessary to maintain employment, and ridicules the contention that there is any danger in this course. Hans Neisser lays stress on encouragement of private investment to maintain a steady growth in the national income. Carl Landauer presents a variation of the old plan suggested by Mordecai Ezekiel—to compensate business firms for the goods which, according to a national production plan, they contract to produce but find that they cannot sell.

Other contributors discuss special aspects of the problem—Alfred Braunthal writing on wage policy, Broadus Mitchell on foreign trade, and Norman S. Buchanan on foreign investment.

Such a description of the book may lead one to believe that it is a sort of intellectual smörgasbörd. You might sample its varied dishes, take most of what you like best, and finish without having had a well-balanced or digestible meal. Albert Halasi in his introductory chapter labors heroically and on the whole successfully to prevent such an outcome. He points out the agreements among the authors, skilfully reviews their differences, and aids the reader to make a reasonably intelligent choice. Perhaps his most important contribution is the demonstration that a good full-employment policy cannot rely on one device alone but must be many-sided.

GEORGE SOULE

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In Grayest Moscow

BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN. By George Moorad. Fireside Press. $3.

UNFORTUNATELY it is not saying much to say that George Moorad, formerly of the Columbia Broadcasting System, has written the best book about the Soviet Union to be published by any Moscow correspondent since the beginning of the Second World War. Censorship at the source has made it impossible for him to record his impressions of more than a very few aspects of the Soviet reality, but happily it is the reality which interests him. He has thus come a good deal closer to the core of what little he was able to see and learn than Richard Lauterbach, Harrison Salisbury, Ella Winter, and others who have published rosier memories of the meager experiences we shared in that correspondents' ghetto called the Hotel Metropol.

Lovers of the Soviets and admirers of Wallace in his present mood will not like what Moorad has to tell them, and there is probably nothing this reviewer can say that will change their minds. For the record, however, I can assure them that what he writes is the undoctored truth, presented with admirable self-restraint in a journalistic style that is remarkable for its lack of padding.

There is little food for optimism in Moorad's book, but there is almost no misinformation in it, either. His analysis of the expansionist aims of Soviet foreign policy is even more obviously correct today than when he wrote it. People who still wonder why the Yalta pact has gone so sour may learn something about it, if they desire, by reading his sketchy but accurate account of its diplomatic genesis in Moscow. Those who still doubt that American relief has been systematically misappropriated for political purposes by the Soviet Union and its satellites may be less skeptical if they read Moorad's report of what happened to the Red Cross supplies we shipped to Poland during the war. And innocents who still believe that the Chinese Communists are only democrats in disguise may be somewhat disabused of that quaint notion after reading about his experiences in Soviet-occupied Manchuria.

Moorad contributes little new information about life in the Soviet Union

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Eleanor Roosevelt calls it "a fine job." Mary McLeod Bethune finds it a "marvelous edition." Channing H. Tobias praises it as "a source book," Harold L. Lundquist, associate editor of *Moody Monthly,* thinks it is "unusually fine." H. Vail Deale, Iowa librarian, spots it as an "excellent summary," F. E. De Frantz, Indiana YMCA secretary, hails it as a "magnificent issue." Desmond W. Bittinger, editor of *The Gospel Messenger,* considers it "among the best I have ever seen." *The Woman's Press* writes, "It provides information and directive for the future," and *America* describes it as "a noteworthy contribution."

Clippings have already reached us, too, from the *N. Y. Times, Post, Sun;* from the *Christian Science Monitor* and *Christian Century; N. J. Herald News, Pittsburgh Courier, Amsterdam Star News, The Afro-American, Raleigh Carolinian, Philadelphia Tribune, Sunday Chicago Bee, Memphis World, School and Society* and many other publications. NBC carried it across the nation.

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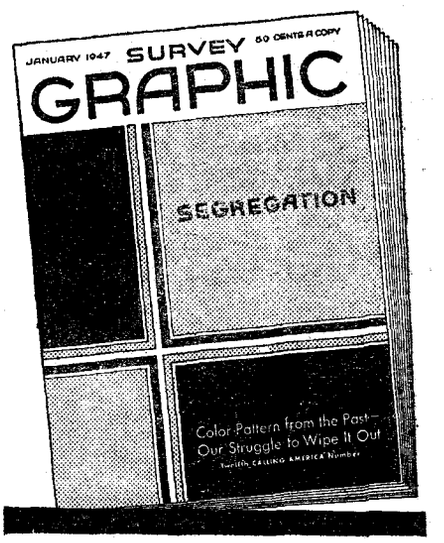

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itself. If anything, he bends too far backward in his effort to be objective about the Soviet housing program, which I think is even feebler than he suspects. He goes to some pains, however, to give a detailed picture of what the Soviet citizen these days is permitted to earn, eat, and wear—a humdrum subject, indeed, if it were not in the nature of a military secret. Throughout, he applies the same standard of criticism to the Soviet Union that is customarily applied to other countries, and because he does—and perhaps also because W. L. White has written the introduction to "Behind the Iron Curtain"—fellow-travelers in the retail book trade have been doing their best to keep it hidden under the counter. LEIGH WHITE

Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

GEORGE KELLY'S "Craig's Wife" I reviewed for *The Nation* in 1925. Seeing it again in the new production current at the Playhouse reminds me that the play and I are now in the relation of a *re-* to a *sur-*vival, and I can only hope that time has been no less kind to me than to it. There is, as a matter of fact, nothing to indicate that Mr. Kelly's crisp little drama was written more than two decades ago, and I doubt that an innocent spectator who wandered into the theater would ever suspect that it was not now being played for the first time. The subject, a selfish woman who makes the mistake of letting her husband see too clearly the fact that he is nothing to her except a guaranty of security, is either timeless or at least a subject toward which 1947 has no necessary intellectual or emotional attitude different from the attitudes of 1925. The dramaturgical method—"Craig's Wife" is essentially a "well-made play" whose three acts end respectively with a question mark, an exclamation point, and a period, according to the established formula—is one which has never ceased to be sound, no matter what newer fashions may from time to time arouse enthusiasm. Add the fact that the producers have cast, set, and directed the piece quite as carefully and quite as expensively as they would a new play, and there remains no mystery about the fact that "Craig's Wife" shows no signs of age.

The reviewers of the daily press were unevenly divided between those whose judgment was approximately the same as that I have just given and a smaller number who turned thumbs down. The audience at the performance I happened to see responded with marked enthusiasm, and since we so seldom have an opportunity to see revived a play from what I am inclined to regard as, relatively at least, a golden age of the American theater, I am interested to ask myself what reasons might be given by those who regard "Craig's Wife" as in no way noteworthy.

Obviously the subject is not "big." Opinions might differ concerning how common women like Mrs. Craig really are and how much they contribute to human unhappiness. But they are obviously not, like fascism, communism, race prejudice, and the atomic bomb, one of the menaces regularly paraded for our attention through the columns of most journals, and no analysis of the character of one such woman can possibly be considered "important" by those who maintain that at the present moment there is no time for anything except the consideration of the best-publicized threats. It was one of the characteristics of the twenties, when this particular play was written, that most men enjoyed a certain sense of public security which made it possible for them to consider how the good life might be led rather than merely to ponder the question whether or not they were likely to survive at all. That sense of security wilted in the chill wind which blew out of Wall Street in 1929, and I suppose that one's attitude toward a play like "Craig's Wife" depends in part upon whether one looks back upon these men of the twenties with some feeling of envy or merely with contempt.

A similar difference of opinion might also, I suppose, exist concerning the fruitfulness of the method by which the subject is treated. Mr. Kelly carefully delimits it in such a way that his play is purely a study of temperament and of personality, and he nowhere exhibits the tendency—which few "serious" playwrights of today could possibly resist—to suggest that the economic system is responsible for the existence of our Mrs. Craigs. He introduces Mrs. Craig to his audience, turns her before their eyes until they have seen her clearly from the front, the back, and in profile, and he then delivers her up to the fate which punishes her with neat justice by depriving her of precisely the thing which she has sacrificed all else to retain. What any proponent of economic determinism would call the "implications" of his story he leaves rigidly alone, though he does bring in her childhood experience as a psychological factor influencing her character, and he is content to see in very clear, sharp outline only the indisputable facts of her personality.

The story exists chiefly as an excuse for exhibiting the character, but it is also used to satisfy the emotional desires of the audience, which is permitted to see the husband rebel at the moment when the desire to have him do so has become almost intolerable and to witness the visitation of exact poetic justice upon the wickedness it has come to hate. One school of contemporary criticism, which seems to hold that the exasperation of a reader's or a spectator's desires is the only effect which ought to be aimed at by a writer serious enough to face the fact that only dissonance can express modernity, would no doubt maintain that the very satisfactoriness of the plot of "Craig's Wife" is a proof of its triviality. But the fact remains that even poetic justice has not always and at all times been assumed an artistic blemish, and seeing the play again does not convince me that the period during which it was written was not, in fact, as I previously suggested, a golden age of promise if not entirely of fulfilment—an age, that is to say, when American playwrights were at least writing better than they had ever written before and when the end of the movement then under way was not yet in sight. Since it closed we have hardly advanced, and I doubt whether the thirties or forties did what they tried to do as successfully as the twenties the task they set themselves.

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Judith Evelyn, the new Mrs. Craig, plays the role with a cold, exasperated intensity which is very effective; Philip Ober is notably successful in preventing the husband from becoming the mere passive puppet he might easily become; and Kathleen Comegys is also excellent as Auntie Austin.

Drama Note

FIVE new plays that are not standard angel-bait are being shown this winter and spring in an Experimental Theater program, sponsored by the American National Theater and Academy, that has exciting potentialities. The first of these, John Finch's fantasy, "The Wanhope Building," had five hectic showings two weeks ago at the Princess Theater.

Limited by a $5,000 budget and plagued by Equity intransigence, the company had the appearance, at the dress rehearsal I saw, of survivors of a desperate adventure hollowly celebrating their survival. That this may have robbed the play of much of its implicit fire, and all of its driving poetic coherence, is not simply to say the venture was mishandled by its producers. "The Wanhope Building" could only receive fair treatment at the hands of a man who had at his call a half-dozen revolving stages and pneumatic platforms.

Whether it would justify such treatment is another question. Finch's allegory of the sailor who sets out to stop a man who will blast all people's willpower with the "W-bomb" operates on extreme levels of simplicity and complexity in symbolism. I believe it requires tempering of both levels if it is to make its symbolism communicate.

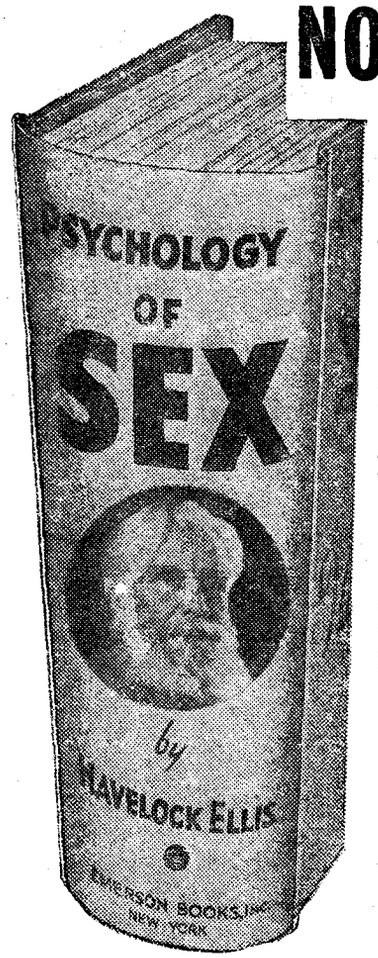
J. T.

Films

JAMES AGEE

"13 RUE MADELEINE" is doing astonishingly well at the box-office. I wish I knew how much of this, even in the semi-conscious part of the audience mind, could be credited to the use of uninvented backgrounds, in and around Quebec. These are selected and photographed with such intelligence, and give the film such vitality, that the good performances of James Cagney, Richard Conte, and Annabella and a generally smart piece of movie-making look weak by comparison. The story tells of the training and work of a group of OSS men. At its best it is briskly informative without informing you of much. At its silliest it assigns an OSS boy with a face as transparent as a bent-glass display window to keep tabs on his best friend, who has been found out as a Nazi spy. The whole success of the Norman invasion is made to depend, for a while, on his hiding his feelings about this friend from the friend. OSS is also called O-77, for reasons of security which no patriotic American will question, though some people may never sleep well again if they once reflect that such a gnat was strained when the aforementioned brontosaurus was tossed down without even causing a hiccup. But the backgrounds more than make up for this kind of tarradiddle. Louis de Rochemont, the producer, is not the only man making movies in this country who knows the great value of getting outside the studio and shooting in highly specific places; but he is getting more of it done, more effectively, than anyone else, and if the idea spreads, and becomes a practice, I expect that most of the credit will be due to him.

The substitution of "O-77" for "OSS" as a supposed security measure is child's play compared with what has



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been done to make "The Beginning or the End," which is the story of the atomic bomb, safe for democracy and points right and left. You learn less about atomic fission from this film than I would assume is taught by now in the more progressive nursery schools; you learn even less than that about the problems of atomic control; and you learn least of all about morals. There is to be sure a young scientist, played with sincerity by Tom Drake, who suffers from scruples; but his conscience is neatly canceled by the posthumous letter in which it is he and he alone who realizes, discarding his worries like last summer's sand fleas, that in God's own time transcontinental commuting, better complexions, and the millennium itself will be achieved on the power generated from an old hat check.

Oh, yes, the movie. Well, there is very little to say. The bombing and the Alamagordo test are effectively staged, though hardly adequate to one's information, let alone one's imagination of how to handle that information creatively. For the rest it seemed to me surprisingly bad even though I rather expected it to be bad, for a good reason: only people of first-rate talent stand even a chance of not being paralyzed, for a long time, by a new subject; "Wake Island," the first American movie about the last war, was hardly better than this. The film is also a horrifying sample of what American movies will be like if the state interferes with them much; it gives me unexpected respect for those who, under such circumstances, do so much better even with the worst of the Russian movies which get over here. Barring the two bits of staging I mentioned, which are to the credit of light-technicians, the whole show could as well be called "Tom Swift and His Giant Ego"—which, for that matter, could go for practically everything to do with the development of the bomb in fact.

Postscript: One seldom has the pleasure of expressing a hope and being thankful for its fulfilment in virtually the same breath. In reviewing "13 Rue Madeleine," above, I spoke respectfully and hopefully of its producer, Louis de Rochemont. I have just seen Mr. de Rochemont's "Boomerang!" It is too late to say more about it in this issue than that it enlarges my respect for him and exceeds my hopes.

Correction: I recently referred, in this column to Archbishop Spellman. Is his hat red!

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

STARK YOUNG, in his brief contribution to "Nijinsky" (Holt; $3), says: "I have in my time seen a few, a very few, artists of the theater who were more profound, more infinitely human, and more tragic to the heart and mind, but I have never seen any other artist so varied in his compulsion, so absorbing in his variety, so glamorous in his stage presence as was Nijinsky." And the book demonstrates the meaning and the truth of his statement with the photographs of Nijinsky that were published in *Dance Index* a few years ago and with a few additional ones. The compulsion, the variety, the glamour are all there, exercising their power in a way that makes these the most amazing and exciting photographs of their kind I have ever seen. One's pleasure from them is increased by the illuminating notes of Edwin Denby that accompanied them in *Dance Index;* and the volume (edited by Paul Magriel) offers two other interesting essays from that magazine: Carl Van Vechten's report, written at the time, on the Diaghilev company and Nijinsky in New York in 1916, and Robert Edmond Jones's account of his collaboration with Nijinsky in the production of "Til Eulenspiegel" in the fall of that year. Mr. Young's note on Mr. Jones's essay is one of several appendices; another is a previously unpublished discussion of Nijinsky's drawings—two of which are reproduced—by Marsden Hartley; and there is also a Nijinsky bibliography.

Incidentally, the November-December 1946 issue of *Dance Index* is devoted to a discussion of Picasso's work in ballet by William S. Lieberman.

One could understand Ballet Society's presenting Ratna Mohini, Pamoedjo, and Soekaro in a group of Javanese court and popular dances: they gave exquisite performances in a highly developed formal style with which very few in the audience were acquainted. But it was impossible to figure out what had persuaded an organization with the name and purposes of Ballet Society that it ought to present Iris Mabry in "Witch" and "Litany," two characteristically limited and monotonous examples of the so-called modern dance that has been on view in great profusion for years. Coming late on the program and lasting long they left one's faculties dulled for the work that came last—Balanchine's "Divertimento," a new and lovely little classic ballet superbly danced by Mary Ellen Moylan and the others in the group with which Balanchine has been working this season: Elise Reiman, Gisella Caccialanza, Beatrice Tompkins, Tanaquil Le Clercq, Francisco Moncion, Lew Christensen, Todd Bolender, Fred Danieli, and John Taras.

Balanchine also devised an amusing production of "Renard" with little help from Stravinsky's music but a great deal from Esteban Frances's costumes and the dancing of Bolender, Christensen, Danieli, and Taras. And the program began with Christensen's charming "Pastorela," which had occasionally effective music by Paul Bowles and good costumes and scenery by Alvin Colt, and was excellently performed by Beatrice Tompkins, Christensen, Danieli, and younger dancers from the School of American Ballet. Again the performances benefited by the fine playing of the music under the direction of Leon Barzin and Emanuel Balaban.

In the Collegiate Chorale's performances of Bach's B minor Mass Robert Shaw used only fifty or sixty singers, with the result that even the small orchestra was heard at all times in the choral passages. A further result was that the choral singing not only was lovely in sound but had a flexibility, a clarity of texture, and a buoyancy which I had not heard in the Bethlehem Choir performance last year, and which made

DURING the next six or eight weeks the Books and the Arts section of The Nation *will print reviews or articles by John Crowe Ransom, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., Lionel Trilling, W. H. Auden, Eleanor Clark, Ernest Nagel, Hans Reichenbach, Kenneth Burke, R. P. Blackmur, Jacques Barzun, Dwight Macdonald, William Empson, Delmore Schwartz, Ralph Bates, Albert Guérard, Wylie Sypher, Arthur Mizener, Sidney Hook, Rolfe Humphries, Harold Rosenberg, Robert Fitzgerald, David Bazelon, Mary McCarthy, and Morton Dauwen Zabel; and poems by Elizabeth Bishop, Robert Lowell, and Josephine Miles.*

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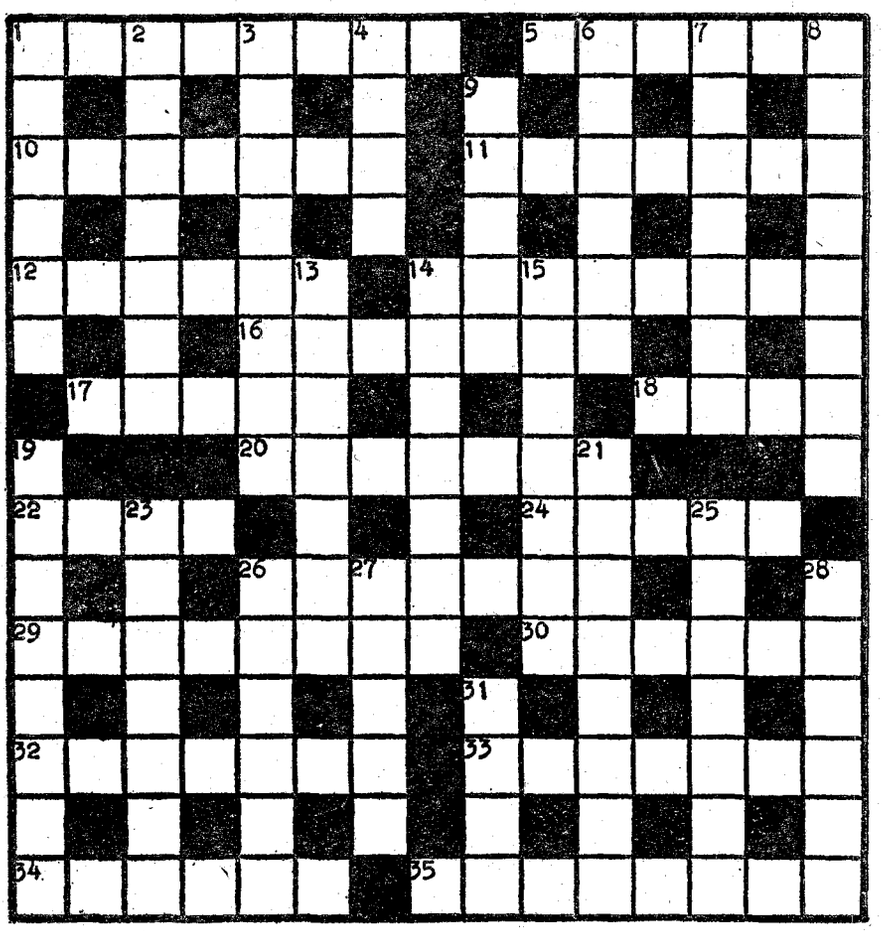
Crossword Puzzle No. 201

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 There is a gun in it, and more than a whiff of grape
5 Put pen to paper, and don't omit the aspirate
10 Play into each other's hand
11 A right royal name, and an improvement on Guelph
12 Lace hole
14 I fled sin (anag.)
16 Reclined at one's ease
17 Here's a town in England
18 Part of Australasia that is greater than the whole
20 Those of London were paved with gold, Dick Whittington heard
22 This is the worst of wine
24 Not a custom of Lady Godiva
26 Large quantity (slang)
29 These college students have not yet assumed the pale cast of thought
30 Rag Eva and make her desolate
32 Political perfectionist visualized by Sir Thomas More
33 One pail has a milky hue
34 Hammer, but should not break the ice
35 Sit about in Hades—in the coolest spot!

DOWN

1 Alive and kicking—but not this!
2 Do they flatten the waves?
3 Hawaiian guitars
4 Rush up to a graceful animal
6 Ran wiith Ruy Diaz
7 They adorn fezzes and tarbooshes
8 A man without a country
9 Of the voice that accompanies the banjo?
13 Twisted
14 Hardly suitably clad, though, for a winter siege
15 Cap decoration for a successful wing-commander
19 Total lack of variety in the shoe store? (3 & 5)
21 Sally leads the orchestra in a slow Spanish dance
23 The oculist might remedy this in conjunction with the architect
25 Fancy, I'm a spirit for the most part
26 Throwing—coconuts, perhaps
27 A near thing
28 Robbed of little more than headgear
31 Stays away from the ball

□—□—□—□

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 200

ACROSS:—1 ANTIQUES; 8 CREATOR; 9 ENTRANCE; 10 EARACHE; 12 HOVEL; 13 PRIMER; 14 ARRAS; 15 SATRAP; 17 WHITE; 22 STRAP; 23 ASTERN; 24 BEECH; 26 REPEAL; 28 BOOER; 29 JAGUARS; 30 FILLED IN; 31 DESCEND; 32 SAVANNAH.

DOWN:—1 ARETHUSA; 2 TITIVATE; 3 QUAIL; 4 EXCEPT; 5 CREAM; 6 NAVARRE; 7 HOTHEAD; 10 EIGHT; 11 REATAS; 16 ALTHEA; 18 CASES; 19 BEHOLDEN; 20 ENTRENCH; 21 REPAPER; 22 SCRUNCH; 25 ELMIRA; 27 PRUNE; 28 BELLA.

passages like the concluding *Cum sancto spiritu* of the Gloria very exciting. Shaw's faster pace made the opening of the Sanctus less ponderous and more joyous than it had been in last year's performance; but on the other hand it made the *Qui tollis* of the Gloria less moving. And the opening Kyrie too did not have the wonderful effect I recall its having when Toscanini took it slowly and with expressive inflections.

This time again I found the arias unequal to the choral sections. The ones for soprano were sung with neither beauty of voice nor distinction of style by Ann McKnight and June Gardner; but in the others I enjoyed the singing of Lydia Summers, contralto, Lucius Metz, tenor, and Paul Matthen, baritone. And the obbligatos were beautifully played by Oscar Shumsky on the violin and Robert Bloom on the oboe d'amore.

CONTRIBUTORS

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